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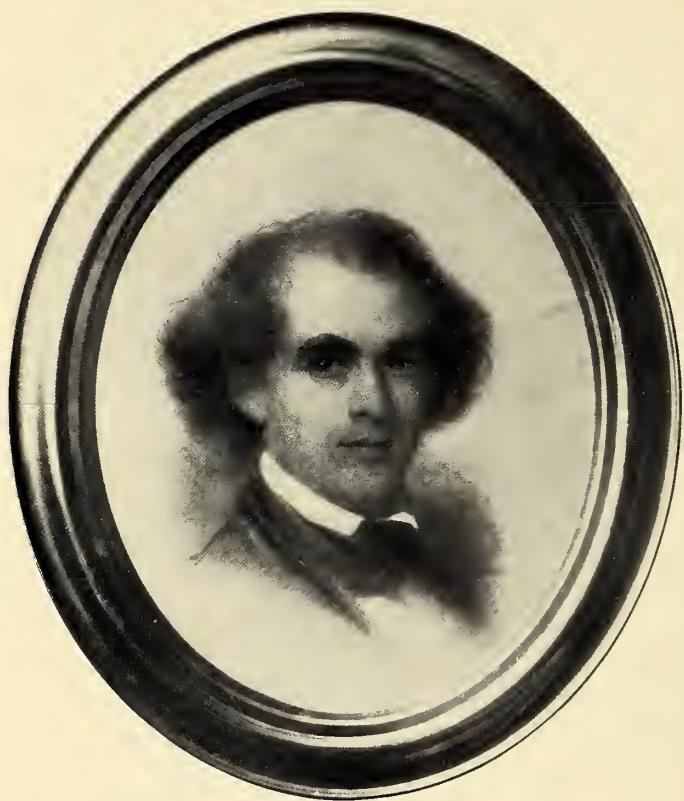
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NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

From a crayon portrait formerly in possession of Miss Alice M. Longfellow  
of Cambridge.



# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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VOL. LXXIV

JANUARY, 1938

No. 1

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### HAWTHORNE'S EARLY YEARS.

BY MANNING HAWTHORNE.

#### I.

The Fourth of July, 1804, dawned in Salem with much of the noise and gunpowder with which Americans yearly announce their independence. There were the sounds of discharging cannon, of martial music, and the gay shouts of those attending the various festivities when the United States celebrated its twenty-eighth birthday. The local papers of that time, in giving a report of the day's events, said:

The Salem cadets paraded, attended by a full band of music, and after a generous entertainment at Osgood's closed the day with a variety of manoeuvres and firings, performed with spirit and accuracy.

Both political parties had processions, dinners, and orations. One procession moved from Washington Square at twelve, its starting being announced by seventeen guns, and at their dinner at Mr. Crombies' Tavern, the toasts were drank under the discharge of cannon stationed at North Bridge.<sup>1</sup>

Salem had good reason to celebrate her country's anniversary, for the New England seaport was at the zenith of its prosperity; and the Embargo Act of Jefferson, which was to start her decay that the War of 1812 would complete, was still four years hence; not only was trade with England and France profitable, but also there was the active trade with China. The white square houses with their cupolas and fine doorways, built from the profits of the China trade by the Yankee skippers, were filled

<sup>1</sup> E. Manning, "The Boyhood of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Wide Awake*, XXXIII (1891), 501.

with the china, with the ivory figurines and fans, the enigmatic Chinese idols, the silks and shawls that the East had contributed to soften the Puritan harshness of the household furnishings. Even a less wealthy mariner, Nathaniel Hathorne, had brought home to his bride a set of monogrammed china. The harbor was full of ships, the streets overflowed with sailors of all nations, their picturesque costumes so common a sight that the crowd jostled them unconcernedly as they hastened to join the festivities in celebration of the Fourth. This was not the Salem of yesterday which Hawthorne was to know, but the Salem of today and tomorrow, proud in its maritime supremacy, and opulent with its booty from that trade. It is no wonder that her people celebrated with a great deal of noise and enthusiasm.

In a small house at 21 Union Street, however, the celebration was not being observed. It was inhabited by the widow of Captain Daniel Hathorne, who had died eight years previously, by their unmarried daughter, Ruth,<sup>2</sup> and their son's wife, Elizabeth. Her husband, Nathaniel, was away on another voyage in his brig, *Nabby*. As she lay in the northwestern chamber, with the roar of the cannon and the shouts of the people sounding dimly in her ears, Elizabeth Hathorne's thoughts must have been with him. For another child had been born to them, and this time it was a son, whose name was to be the same as his father's. She may have wondered if he, too, would follow the sea as so many of his ancestors had done. It is scarcely likely that she regarded him as a changeling, as one who would do none of the things that had engaged the attention of the Hathornes before him; but that he would be a writer of tales, the like of which had never before been written in America. It would be he who would make the deeds of his first American ancestors live for all time, and who would picture the dying grandeur of Salem in such a way that it would be more vividly remembered than all the golden days of prosperity and wealth.

The first years of the little boy's life passed happily

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Hathorne (Jan. 20, 1778—July 26, 1847). She never married.



enough. Captain Hathorne came home, stayed a couple of months, and departed again, for the West Indies, for England, for Africa. It was not the best sort of married life for little Nathaniel's parents, but it was a usual one in Salem. Elizabeth had to accept it. She had her two children and the house to look after. And in January, 1808, while her husband was home, her third child, a daughter, was born. Shortly after Maria Louisa's birth, her father sailed away to Dutch Guiana for a cargo of pepper. Three months later, on April 8, 1808, the Salem papers carried a brief item recording his death:

At Surinam, of yellow fever Captain Nathaniel Hathorne of this town, aged 33, Master of the Brig Nabby.<sup>3</sup>

Elizabeth Hawthorne remembered that one morning the little four-year-old Nathaniel was called into his mother's room, and there informed by her of his father's death.<sup>4</sup> Although he was too young to remain grief-stricken, yet the dramatic quality of this announcement apparently always remained in his memory.

The happiness of the past seven years was over, if a marriage consisting mostly of separations can be called happiness, and for the rest of her life, Elizabeth Hathorne lived with her memories. But she could not spend her time in grieving, for the future of her three children had to be considered. Contrary to the sentimental legend which has grown up about her retirement from the world after her husband's death, the letters of her children reveal that until they reached adulthood, she paid constant and close attention to their up-bringing, and enjoyed a closer and more tender relationship with them than was usually customary in families of the early nineteenth century.

Her husband did not leave her very well off. There was almost no money, and very little property. Her brother, Robert Manning, took charge of everything, and suggested that she return to the Manning house. She agreed, and they moved into the house, already full with her parents, brothers, and sisters. In the large garden where she used to walk with the young captain in the

<sup>3</sup> E. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 98-99.

days of his courtship, her two older children played all day. Two of their Manning uncles, Sam and John, were young enough to play with them.

There are very few details of those early years. One can turn to Lathrop's biography for little, homely incidents, which he gathered from Elizabeth Hawthorne shortly before her death. Nathaniel was a handsome child, it is said, and people stopped him on the street to admire him. How many are the famous, who as children have been stopped by admiring strangers because of their beauty! Not only was he handsome, but he appreciated beauty even when he was little; for he said of a woman who wished to be kind to him, "Take her away! She is ugly and fat and has a loud voice!"<sup>5</sup>

He was fond of telling his sisters strange and fantastic tales of ghosts, of witches, and of his own proposed travels, from which he declared he would never return. When he was quite small, he heard some lines of *Richard III*, and one in particular so impressed him that he would march around the house crying, "Stand back, my Lord, and let the coffin pass!"<sup>6</sup>

But there were other occasions his sister remembered that were not so fraught with signs of genius. She wrote in a letter to her nephew Julian:

Your father was very fond of animals, especially kittens; yet he sometimes teased them, as boys will. He once seized a kitten and tossed it over a fence; and when he was told that the kitten would never like him again, he said, "Oh, she'll think it was William!" William was a little boy who played with him. He never wanted money, except to spend; and once, in the country, where there were no shops, he refused to take some that was offered to him, because he could not spend it immediately.<sup>7</sup>

When Hawthorne was six, the legend goes, he read *Pilgrim's Progress*,<sup>8</sup> and during his boyhood this book remained one of his favorites. While such a feat seems highly improbable to modern ears, it may be true. It must

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> J. T. Fields, "Hawthorne," *Yesterdays With Authors* (Boston, 1872), p. 44.

be remembered that in those days there was no juvenile literature of any sort. If a child wished to read, he had to read books whose meaning he could not be expected to grasp. In any case, *Pilgrim's Progress* might be considered a good adventure story. Since he and his sisters had free rein in the Manning library, he could easily have obtained it. And children in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, had a fervor for reading and learning that went far beyond the desires of a modern child. If one is startled by Hawthorne's precocity, he need only examine the record of John Trumbull, beside which the Salem boy's achievement pales into insignificance. Before John Trumbull was two, he could say by heart all the verses in the "Primer," and all of Watts' "Divine Songs for Children." He could read at the advanced age of two and a half; before he was four he had read the entire Bible; at the end of his fifth year he started the study of Latin; and shortly after his seventh birthday this mere urchin had passed the entrance examinations for Yale!<sup>9</sup> It would appear that Hawthorne was really backward for his time. Even so, he could have read *Pilgrim's Progress* when he was six.

Shortly thereafter, in the autumn of 1811, he started his schooling under the tutelage of a young man recently graduated from Yale, Joseph E. Worcester,<sup>10</sup> who ran a small school in Salem. Here for the first time, in all probability, he was able to associate with companions of his own age and sex. That he did not always get along with them in perfect accord is illustrated by Lathrop's account of the pugilistic encounters he used to have with a certain John Knight, whom, he said, had a very quarrelsome disposition.<sup>11</sup>

Shortly after Hawthorne began his schooling, the War of 1812 started, and although New England was bitterly opposed to it, there were some of her sons who went. John Manning, Hawthorne's young uncle, was one of

<sup>9</sup> M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1897), I, 191-192.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. Hanley, "Joseph Worcester," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 526-529, for an account of his life.

<sup>11</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

those, and he chose the sea. He sailed off and was never heard of again. Until the end of her life, old Mrs. Manning hoped and believed he would return. The shock of his son's loss may have been too much for Mr. Manning, as he died the same year. Two years later a daughter, Maria, also died.

The disappearance of John Manning brought the war more closely home than otherwise might have been the case. But in June, 1813, Lawrence in the *Chesapeake* fought a British frigate off Marblehead. The battle resulted in the capture of the American vessel and the death of Lawrence, who fell crying the words that still thrill schoolboys, "Don't give up the ship!" Crowds of Salem people watched the battle from the hills, and the nine-year-old boy might well have been one of them. In August the bodies of Lawrence and his lieutenant, Ludlow, were brought back to Salem, and impressive honors were paid them. Nathaniel Hawthorne must have been among the throngs of people who lined the streets that day.<sup>12</sup>

Strangely enough, a little boy of six who lived in Portland saw another sea battle that same year. He stood on the bluffs of the city with his grandfather, General Peleg Wadsworth, and watched the American ship, *Enterprise*, capture a British brig, *Boxer*, after a fierce battle, in which both captains were slain. They were buried beside each other in a Portland cemetery a few days later. The boy, who was to become Hawthorne's classmate at college, and later one of his best friends, was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.<sup>13</sup> One of his uncles, Alexander Wadsworth, was also in the American navy, but unlike John Manning, he returned from the war.

Even when he was a little lad, Hawthorne was attracted to the wharves. He used to see the schooners come around Naugus Head, their white sails flashing and dipping in the sunshine, their sharp prows cutting the water and sending up a spray of foam on either side. Or he would walk down the length of the Long Wharf, under the bow-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>13</sup> T. W. Higginson, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1902), p. 14.

sprits of the vessels, staring at their figureheads, which gazed back at him blankly with their unseeing eyes. The small boy followed them, no doubt, in his imagination, when they turned their faces from Salem to breast the cold waves of the Atlantic. He thought of all his seafaring ancestors who, for over a hundred years, had left their home port for strange and colorful lands far away. Doubtless, too, he thought of his father, that sad pale ghost, who came back to haunt the Salem which held his wife. Did it see the little boy who struggled with his longing to sail away, "and never come back again"?<sup>14</sup>

There were days when he walked out to the breezy pastures of Salem Neck, which juts forth a mile or two out upon the island-strewn bay. Sometimes he turned toward the western suburbs, over pasture roads bordered with sumac and barberry, or followed the upland ridge to the spot where Rebecca Nurse, and the other Salem witches, condemned by Judge Hathorne, had gasped out their wretched lives.

At other times he would go to the office of his uncles' stage coach company. The hour he liked best was the one when the stage drivers were reporting for duty. He was a great favorite with them, and they would tell him stories of their trips up and down the length and breadth of New England. Or he would dart off with a group of neighborhood boys to play ball. He was older now, and the Manning garden and the society of his two sisters were no longer satisfactory.

But one day in November, 1813, he was carried home by some of his playmates. He had injured his foot, playing ball. A month later it was no better, and he wrote a letter about it to his uncle, Robert Manning, who at that time was in Raymond, Maine. This is the earliest letter by Hawthorne now extant, and it is probably one of the first he ever wrote:

Salem, Thursday, December 9 1813

Dear Uncle,

I hope you are well and I hope Richard<sup>15</sup> is too. My foot

<sup>14</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Manning, a brother of Robert and Elizabeth, had gone to Raymond, Me., to take charge of the Manning properties there.



is no better. Louisa has got so well that she has begun to go to school but she did not go this forenoon because it snowd [*sic*]. Maam [his mother] is going to send for Doctor Kittridge<sup>16</sup> today when William Cross<sup>17</sup> comes home at 12 o'clock, and may be he will do some good for Doctor Barstow<sup>18</sup> has not and I don't know as Doctor Kittridge will it is know [*sic*] 4 weeks yesterday since I have been to school and I don't know but it will be 4 weeks longer before I go again. I have been out in the office two or three times and have set down on the step of the door and once I hopped out into the street. Yesterday I went out into the office and had 4 cakes. Hannah<sup>19</sup> carried me out once but not then. Elizabeth and Louisa send their love to you. I hope you will write to me soon but I have nothing more to write so goodbye dear uncle your affectionate Nephew.

Nathaniel Hathorne.<sup>20</sup>

The lameness did not heal in four weeks, nor for many more. Other doctors were called in, among them Dr. Nathaniel Peabody, who many years later was to become his patient's father-in-law. The boy could not go to school, therefore Mr. Worcester used to come each day to hear his lessons. As time went on and his foot did not seem to get better, a new and heroic method of airing it was attempted. He sat out in the yard, his foot outstretched, and cold water was poured on it from a second-story window. In time the foot got better, but it was a long and tedious process, and he was nearly twelve before it was completely normal.<sup>21</sup>

In one particular, his lameness affected Hawthorne's whole course of life. It gave him a confirmed habit of reading, which he otherwise might never have formed. He had read a good deal for a boy of his age, but now

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Kitteredge was one of the two family physicians usually called by the Manning family.

<sup>17</sup> William Cross was a young man who worked in the stage-coach office and on the Manning place as a hired man.

<sup>18</sup> Gideon Barstow (1783-1852) married a daughter of Hawthorne's aunt, Rachel (Hathorne) Forrester.

<sup>19</sup> Hannah Lord was a niece of Mrs. Manning and lived for some time in the Manning family as "helper." For the information regarding the Mannings, I am indebted to Professor Richard Manning.

<sup>20</sup> Letter in the Manning Collection, Essex Institute.

<sup>21</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

he had to read to entertain himself. He would spend hours lying on the floor, his crutches beside him, while he read his old favorite, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the first book he had ever bought for himself, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. It remained a favorite with him all his life, and for one of its characters he named his eldest child Una. There were other books, too, which he spent hours reading. Froissart's *Chronicles* and Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* gained his attention, and it is probable he gained an impetus for his interest in history and legend from them.<sup>22</sup> His grandmother, his mother, and his aunt Mary Manning would tell him some of the many stories with which Salem abounded: tales of old houses with secret passages; of the strange old maids who lived in some of their dusky interiors; of queer people shut up in attics; and most often of all, he heard of that faraway ancestor of his, who had condemned old women to be hanged, and had been cursed by one of them. Since that time, the fortunes of the Hathornes had declined. The old Judge had died suddenly, soon thereafter; his son and heir sank into the dull mediocrity of a small farmer; and year by year the importance of the Hathornes had waned. In each generation some member of the family had met with disaster, — falling victim to the smallpox, to the tyranny of Britain, or to the cruelty of the sea. Had not his own father died in a far-away, heathenish land?

Thus the months passed. Summer came and went, winter followed, another summer arrived. Habits of indolence are all too easily acquired, and when one has been out of the world for a time, he hesitates to return. The group of playmates who had brought him home from the ball game that November day had long since forgotten him. Though his foot slowly grew well, he remained pale and listless, and spent his time reading, dreaming, fretting for he knew not what.

In the spring of 1816, Robert Manning returned from Maine, having handed over the management of the Manning lands to his brother Richard. Affairs in Salem needed Robert's attention. He noticed his nephew's pallor and his lack of interest in anything a normal boy usu-

<sup>22</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

ally possesses. He had built a house for himself in Raymond, across the road from the one Richard Manning had built in 1800, and which was so magnificent the natives called it "Manning's Folly." Robert suggested that his sister and her three children move up to his house in Raymond, so that the boy could get the benefit of country life and the change from Salem. They had all visited Raymond before, apparently, and had liked it. Mrs. Hathorne agreed. In all probability she was worried about her son's health, and also looked forward to having a house of her own.

So in the early summer, the Hathornes took one of the Manning stagecoaches and started for Portland. The first chapter of Hawthorne's boyhood was over. A new life was beginning for him, which he would ever after remember as one of the happiest periods of his childhood. All his reminiscences of Raymond are filled with nostalgia for something that grew ever more perfect in retrospect, — a happiness never to be recaptured. But although he had left Salem, it would call him back.

## II.

Raymond, Maine, in the year 1816, was a tiny hamlet consisting of three or four houses, and a mill by Dingley Brook. The brook was a brief connection from Thomas Pond to Sebago Lake, but it furnished enough power, with its fifteen-foot waterfall, to run the mill. Sebago, the last and largest of a chain of navigable lakes, thirty-one miles in length, was famous for its Indian Cliffs and the Images on their sides. Land-locked salmon swam in its cold, clear water, and it was surrounded, like Raymond itself, by the huge trees of the ancient forest, which effectively separated both lake and village from the rest of the world.

It was a wild spot, but a lovely one. Nathaniel had few playmates in that isolated region, but the lameness he had suffered during his early childhood had accustomed him to depend upon himself. He did not miss them, as his reminiscences of those years indicate very clearly. And there were one or two neighborhood boys who played and fished with him.



The house to which Mrs. Hathorne and her children came, one early summer day in 1816, has not changed very much exteriorly in the years that have followed. It was a plain, simple house, but simple as the exterior of the Hathorne house was, its interior was almost luxurious. The massive chimney suggested the deep fireplaces within, and the built-in bookcases, closets, and stairways were all of mahogany. As time went on, she had a flower garden, a fine young orchard of apple trees, and a row of butternuts.

Not much is known of Hawthorne's years in Raymond. Very few of his childhood letters were written from there, as he was with his family, and the only direct references he makes to those years are rare. He told his son, Julian, in later years, of his skating on Sebago in the brief winter afternoons, sometimes going so far in his joy in the winged movement which his skates gave him, that he would not return home for the night; but, seeking some lonely and vacant cabin, he would spend the night there before the open fire. As the huge logs sent their fiery shower of sparks up the big chimney, he would lie watching them, and dream his boyish dreams. One time, he said, he followed the tracks of a black bear, for he had his gun; but he was unable to overtake him. Not only hunting, but fishing attracted him, and he spent hours at Dingley Brook with hook and line, fishing from a flat rock near the outlet of Thomas Pond.<sup>1</sup>

He is said to have told James T. Fields that it was at Raymond that he first got his habit of solitude.<sup>2</sup> Hawthorne was never a very social person, in the sense that he liked to have a lot of people about him. This was due, in all probability, not only to the circumstances of his childhood, but to his own nature as well. But it would seem that the events of his early life had much to do with his subsequent love of solitude. His lameness, his years at Raymond, the constant society of his mother, his sisters, and his aunts, would tend to make him self-conscious when he suddenly faced the every-day world. His college years gave Hawthorne his first real taste of male

<sup>1</sup> J. Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1884), I, 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 95-96.

companionship, and although he did not join wholeheartedly and noisily in the fun of his college mates, and his reserve was noticed by them, yet none accused him of being anti-social. He had a small group of very good friends with whom he kept in touch for the remainder of his life. The twelve years which followed his graduation from Bowdoin were lonely ones, but he did not remain in solitary confinement by any means. He visited his classmate, Bridge; he went on trips during the summer months; and he called upon a small circle of friends in Salem. There is no doubt, however, that he led an unnatural existence during this period. It was Sophia Peabody who saved him from sinking into what might have become morbid introspection. He met her in 1837 or 1838. It was in 1837 that he sought a position in the outside world; in that year his *Twice-Told Tales* appeared, and because of Longfellow's review of it, his friendship with the Cambridge professor began. It must be noted, too, that it was Hawthorne who sought out Longfellow and who continued to seek him out and visit him during most of their friendship, and Hawthorne's letters to Longfellow were long, intimate, and full of his aspirations, his momentary periods of despair, his hopes and plans.

After his marriage, one can perceive an increasing sociability on the part of Hawthorne. Naturally, this was demanded, in part, by his increasing fame, but it was also due in no small measure to his wife. Although she was always very careful to shield her husband from all outside contacts when he was writing, Sophia Hawthorne did a great deal to help him overcome his shyness and his sense of strangeness when he was with other people. Many have spoken of his cordiality as a host, and the active part he took in conversation when with one or two people; it was when he found himself in a large group that Hawthorne became silent. The culmination of his social acquirements came when he went abroad, for there he was forced to meet many people and to appear publicly as a speaker.

The remark he made to Fields regarding the effect Maine had on his love of solitude should not be taken too literally. No doubt the mode of life in the little village

set in the wilderness strengthened his dependence upon his own society, so that he never particularly missed the companionship of others. But that self-dependence had begun in Salem, and was to be further increased by his twelve years of writing when he was preparing himself for his career.

There were boys in the neighborhood, however, and he played with them as boys do. There were three in particular: Robinson Cook, who remembered the Hathornes well; Jacob Dingley, who was a relative of Mrs. Richard Manning; and William Symmes, a mulatto, who was responsible for an early diary, purporting to have been kept by Hawthorne while he was in Raymond.

The events leading up to the discovery and publication of this little diary have been amply explained by Mr. Pickard in his introduction to it.<sup>3</sup> The question of its authenticity, however, has never been satisfactorily settled. Julian Hawthorne decided it was not genuine,<sup>4</sup> but gave no very good reasons in support of his decision. On the other hand, George Parsons Lathrop accepted it,<sup>5</sup> with equally vague justification. In 1902 Mr. Pickard himself learned that one entry could not possibly have been written while Hawthorne was at Raymond, as the event happened in 1828, several years after Hawthorne had left Maine. For this reason the little book was withdrawn from publication.<sup>6</sup> Since then it has been accepted by some and rejected by others; its authenticity still remains in doubt.

Whether genuine or not, the question is not particularly important. Most of the events described have been corroborated by one of Hawthorne's former playmates, Robinson Cook.<sup>7</sup> In this way one does get biographical data of the years Hawthorne spent in Raymond, and

<sup>3</sup> S. J. Pickard, *Hawthorne's First Diary* (Boston, 1897), pp. 622-48.

<sup>4</sup> J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), pp. 83-84.

<sup>6</sup> Pickard, "Is 'Hawthorne's First Diary' a Forgery?" *The Dial*, XXXIII (1902), 155.

<sup>7</sup> The corroboration is to be found in Mr. Pickard's editorial comment, in which he brings in Cook's evidence after nearly every entry in the diary.

whether he wrote them or not, is not of primary importance. The general tenor of the notes, particularly in the references to his mother, when compared with his letters of that period, would seem to indicate that he did not write it. Yet one's thoughts as expressed in a journal might be quite different from those expressed in letters to others.

It is a pleasant life that is recorded in the journal, and strangely enough, it is devoted almost entirely to the social contacts the boy enjoyed while he was in Raymond. He often went on sailing trips on Sebago with the men in the village, and was teased unmercifully by them for any number of things, in the way men do tease a small boy whom they like. He swapped knives with Robinson Cook, to his own advantage; he observed kingbirds building their nest near the house; he heard bear stories, stories of rattlesnakes, and a tale of a ghost in a haunted house; he went fishing and caught a large eel. One day he tells a short story, perhaps his first attempt, of a pathetic old horse who was cruelly treated by its master. A trip to the Images is described, and a smattering of Indian legends is added. There is even critical comment on a book, *Gulliver's Travels*, which he declares is not witty and interesting because the wit is too obscene and the lies are too obvious.<sup>8</sup>

One more peculiarity of the diary might be noted. In it, there is no reference to his two sisters, Elizabeth and Louisa. It is conceivable that Hawthorne would not mention them, but scarcely probable. During these years in Raymond, Elizabeth was still young enough to enjoy her brother's outdoor companionship; and Louisa, four years younger than he, was old enough to share in their amusements. He almost always speaks of them in his letters.

Symmes remembered several incidents of their boyhood together, and these he sent to Mr. Pickard in a letter. And it seems that in Raymond, Hawthorne was first struck with the desire to write poetry. This urge for poetical expression remained with him for several years, finally disappearing while he was in college. In speaking of Hawthorne's verse, Symmes said:

<sup>8</sup> The diary itself is found in Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-89.



## Moderate Sins

Virtues unassailed untainted by pride  
By reason my life let me square  
The wants of my nature are deeply supplied  
And the rest are but folly and care.  
How vainly through infinite trouble and strife  
The many their labours employ,  
Since all that is truly delightful in life,  
Is what all if they please may enjoy.

Nathaniel Hawthorne.

London February 13/11/2

POEM WRITTEN BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE IN 1817.

From the Manning Collection on deposit at the Essex Institute.



On one of our excursions to the pond he read to me some verses that he had written, the subject being the freezing to death of Mr. Tarbox and his wife in a terrible storm. This happened in their immediate neighborhood. . . . He also read to me some poetry of his upon another sad event, that happened about that time, the drowning of the wife and infant of Mr. Nathaniel Knight. . . . I cannot recall a single line of his poetry, but remember that he read with much feeling, and that I was near crying at his pathos, and told him his "verses were *terrible pretty*." Nat said he would not have his uncle Richard see the poetry on any account, for he would be sure to laugh. I remember saying with much emphasis, that 'if his uncle said anything against the verses he was no judge.'<sup>9</sup>

Hawthorne was nearly fifteen at the time of the Tarbox tragedy, which occurred in the winter of 1819, but two years before that, when he was in his thirteenth year, he had written a poem which has been preserved. Apparently it was done while he was on a visit to Salem, for it is so dated:

#### MODERATE VIEWS

With passions unruffled untainted by pride  
 By reason my life let me square.  
 The wants of my nature are cheaply supplied  
 And the rest are but folly and care.  
 How vainly through infinite trouble and strife  
 The many their labours employ,  
 Since all that is truly delightful in life,  
 Is what all, if they please, may enjoy.

Nathaniel Hathorne

Salem, February 13th 1817.<sup>10</sup>

A rather extraordinary poem, for a boy not yet thirteen, one might think; yet it must be remembered how often this moral and sententious little boy had read *The Pilgrim's Progress*. And perhaps his uncle Richard, who does not seem to have had a very well-developed sense of humor, had given his nephew a volume of sermons to

<sup>9</sup> Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>10</sup> This poem is in manuscript, with a number of childhood letters, in the Manning Collection at the Essex Institute, Salem. They are reprinted with the kind permission of Professor Richard Clarke Manning.

peruse during the stormy days. Although the lines have a jingle reminiscent of "Father William," in *Alice in Wonderland*, it is to be hoped that Hawthorne was not in such a mood often, for he would have been an insufferable little prig. Fortunately, his letters show a more agreeable, and more human, side of him.

His sister Elizabeth also remembered his poetry, for she wrote to her nephew Julian some years later, enclosing one of Hawthorne's boyhood poems, and remarking that he had sent some like them to a Boston paper. Whether they were accepted or not, she neglected to say.<sup>11</sup> Julian Hawthorne includes the poem in his biography, and says that it proves conclusively that its author could never have been a genuine poet! Hawthorne never took his writing of poetry very seriously, it would appear, and the general tone of all these boyhood effusions seems to imply a jest. For that matter, he never cared much for poetry, with the exception of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Longfellow.

In the summer of 1818, Mrs. Hawthorne and the children went to Salem for a visit. While they were there, Robert Manning was at Raymond, doubtless on business in connection with the Manning lands. Hawthorne wrote to him to give him an account of the family's, and his own, activities:

Salem, Monday, July 21th [sic] 1818

Dear Uncle,

All the family are well, and I hope you are the same. Elizabeth has not returned from Newberry-Port yet, and we have not heard from her. Ma'am, [his mother], Louisa & I, Mr. & Mrs. Dike, John, and Mary<sup>12</sup> have been to Nahant, we had a very pleasant time, fish are very thick there. Is not the house almost finished? I think I had rather go to dancing school a little longer before I come to

<sup>11</sup> J. Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I, 102.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. and Mrs. John Dike were Hawthorne's uncle by marriage and his aunt, Priscilla Manning Dike. John and Mary Dike were Mrs. Dike's stepchildren. Mary died as a girl; her brother, John Stevens Dike, eventually went to Steubenville, Ohio, and was the recipient of the Hawthorne letters published in the *New England Quarterly*. See Edward B. Hungerford, "Hawthorne Gossips About Salem," *N. E. Q.*, III (September, 1933), 445-469.



Raymond. Does the Pond look the same as it did when I was there? It is almost as pleasant at Nehant [*sic*] as at Raymond. I thought there was no place that I should say so much of. I suppose you have a great many berries, we have very few. the garden I think looks as well as when you was [*sic*] here though there is not much done to it. I have written all I can think of.

Goodbye,

Nath<sup>l</sup> Hathorne<sup>13</sup>

Apparently, they had been in Salem some time, and also the family had decided to teach young Nathaniel some social graces before he grew up a complete savage in the wilderness. Thus, the dancing school. The fact that he enjoyed it is somewhat at variance with the picture of a morbid, lonely boy, who loved to be alone. They went back to Raymond for the winter, however; the last winter that Hawthorne was to spend there. His days of boyish freedom were rapidly drawing to a close. Robert Manning had been with the family part of the time, and shortly after he left for Salem, his nephew wrote to him:

Raymond, March 24th 1819

Dear Uncle,

I hope you have arrived safely at the end of your journey. I suppose you have not heard of the death of Mr. Tarbox and his wife who were froze [*sic*] to death on Wednesday last. They were brought out from the cape on Saturday and buried from Capt Dingleys [*sic*] on Sunday. How soon do you intend coming down Louisa says she wants to see you very much. The snow is going off very fast and I dont thinke [*sic*] we shall have much more sleighing. I hope we shall not for I am tired of winter. You ordered me to write as well as I could, but this is bad paper I am writing with a bad pen and am in a hurry as I am going to Portland at noon with Mr. Leach.<sup>14</sup>

Your affectionate Nephew

Nath<sup>l</sup> Hathorne

P. S. this paper was two cents a sheet.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This letter was formerly in the Manning Collection at the Essex Institute. The letter is a copy of the manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> Zachariah Leach, a Freewill Baptist minister, was an elder at Raymond, and is mentioned in the Raymond diary in the entry since proved spurious. See footnote 7.

<sup>15</sup> This letter was formerly in the Manning Collection.

It is quite evident, from the punctuation and spelling of the two letters quoted, that it was high time young Hawthorne left his irresponsible existence in Maine and got some schooling. Shortly after he returned to Salem and his lessons, an improvement in his letters is manifest.

Symmes remembered that Hawthorne had written a poem on the Tarbox tragedy, as has already been mentioned. The Tarboxes were a poor family living near Raymond. There was a severe snowstorm, lasting nine days, in March, 1819, and it was at this time that they lost their lives. There being no food in the house, Mr. Tarbox went five miles for a supply. He almost reached the house, but fell, exhausted, not far away. His wife heard his cries, ran out, and after covering him, tried to get the food to the house. She, too, failed, and they both died. Their bodies were found two days later. The children were adopted by various families, and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Manning took the youngest child, Betsy. They had no children of their own.

In the diary, there is the following excerpt:

I can from my chamber window look across into aunt Manning's garden, this morning, and see little Betsy Tarbox flitting among the rosebushes, and in and out of the arbor, like a tiny witch. She will never realize the calamity that came upon her brothers and sisters, that terrible night when her mother and father lay within a few rods of each other, in the snow, freezing to death. I love the elf, because of her loss; and still my aunt is much more to her than her own mother, in her poverty, could have been.<sup>16</sup>

This passage gives some evidence that the diary was not written by young Hawthorne. It reveals a maturity of thought and expression, and even a sympathy, that ordinarily would be beyond a boy in his middle teens, and which is nowhere to be found in his letters of this period. The two passages quoted dealing with the Tarboxes are not at all alike. The pity revealed in the diary is much more that of a man than a boy.

On the back of the letter Hawthorne wrote to his uncle in Salem was another, written by his mother. It is worth reproducing, for perhaps it will do something to dispel

<sup>16</sup> Pickard, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

the notion that Elizabeth Hathorne was a recluse, completely out of touch with the world. She wrote to her sister:

Dear Mary, I am sorry to trouble you to get another gown made but Elizabeth thinks she cannot have a gown made only in Salem. She wishes you to have it fixt fashionable [*sic*] the bosom lined if trimmins are worn she would like to have it trimmed [*sic*]. I should have sent the money to pay for the making and trimming [*sic*] but I hope William or Robert [her brothers] can supply you and charge it to me she wishes to have the silk gown longer than the one she left in Salem.

I am anxious to hear from Robert hope he will not hurry down I shall endeavor to take all possible care in his absence. it is needless for me to say how much I want to see you all.

Yours

E. C. Hathorne<sup>17</sup>

By May spring was well on its way, even in Maine, and Hawthorne told his uncle some of his activities:

Raymond May 16th 1819.

Dear Uncle,

We have received your letters and are all very well. The grass and some of the trees look very green and the roads are very good there is no snow on Lymington mountains. the Fences are all finished and the garden is laid out and planted. Two of the goats are on the island and we keep the other one for her milk. the —— threatened to kill Louisa without any provocation and has behaved so bad that mother did not think it safe to keep him and Mr. Ham<sup>18</sup> has got him. I have shot a partridge and a hen hawke [*sic*] and caught 18 large trout out of our brooke [*sic*]. I am sorry you intend to send me to school again. Mother says she can hardly spare me. We hear nothing of Dr. Brown and expect he is lost in the woods. I hope you will soon recover your health as I wish to see you very much. Nathl. Hathorne<sup>19</sup>

In the Raymond diary it is said that one of the farmers kept his sheep on an island in Sebago, to protect them

<sup>17</sup> Letter was formerly in the Manning Collection.

<sup>18</sup> Ben Ham was a Raymond farmer. He appears in the story of the old horse in the Raymond diary, for he rescues the horse from being beaten to death by its master.

<sup>19</sup> Letter was formerly in the Manning Collection.

from the bears and wolves. No doubt Mrs. Hathorne found it wise to do the same thing with her goats. The unknown assailant that attacked Louisa may have been the billy goat, for their tempers are uncertain in the spring.

The lad apparently spent much of his time in hunting and fishing. Symmes mentioned their fishing expeditions, and after Hawthorne returned to Salem, his thoughts went back many times to the gun he had left in Raymond. It was just the sort of place for hunting, and it is not curious that he should have enjoyed it. Most boys do.

It was not many months after this last letter was written before Hawthorne was back in Salem studying, and the happy, carefree days were forever gone. For the rest of his life he was to have increasing responsibilities of various sorts. It is not remarkable that he should always remember the Raymond days as the happiest in his life. As years pass, an air of romance surrounds one's memories of them, particularly if they have been pleasant, and so Raymond always held a close place in Hawthorne's affections. Yet he was wise enough not to go back when his college years were over, for he felt his illusions would be destroyed. There had been many changes in the years that followed: his uncle Richard, who had been crippled by a fall, died, and Mrs. Manning married again; his mother's house had been turned, first, into a tavern, later, into a meeting house, so that only the shell of it remained; and the people he knew had changed or moved away.

But, happy as he had been there, Raymond had little outward effect on Hawthorne. Perhaps it emphasized his liking for solitude. If so, life at college, amid a hundred or so boys soon nullified that feeling. He gave up hunting and fishing. Of all his tales, only an early novel, *Fanshawe*, which he withdrew from publication, and "The Minister's Black Veil," get anything from Maine. But the picture of Raymond always remained with him, and he was able to describe a Raymond scene to Symmes, when the two met by chance in Liverpool, thirty years later. He remarked that nothing he had seen since in

America or Europe equalled the view from Thomas Pond on an October day.<sup>20</sup>

But five generations of Salem ancestors and Salem itself were in his blood, nor could he ever rid himself of their influence. He was never particularly happy in Salem, but it was of Salem Hawthorne wrote, and to Salem he returned.

<sup>20</sup> Pickard, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

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### BILLS OF JOSEPH AND SAMUEL McINTIRE.

1776 Capt. Tucker to Joseph mackintire	Dr	
to Work on Board your Scooner Harliquin		
august 15 to September 17 to work 19 Days		
at 5s—0 pr Day		£4—15—0
to my Brother Samuell work 14¾		3—13—9
		<hr/>
		8— 8—9

Salem Sept 19 then Recd the above Contents in full  
Joseph mackintire

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Select Men of the Town of Salem	
to Sam <sup>l</sup> McIntire	Dr
To Drawing ground plan for a Building	
intended for a Regesters Office	£1—50—0
Salem 28 <sup>th</sup> Feb <sup>y</sup> 1807 Received pay for S Macintire	
Jon Mason	



DIARY OF WILLIAM WIDGER OF MARBLE-  
HEAD, KEPT AT MILL PRISON, ENGLAND,  
1781.

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(Continued from Volume LXXIII, page 347.)

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*Sunday 3d June 1781.* Fair Weather 50th Regimt. mounted Guard, Fridays paper Gives an acc't of Mr. Clinton's coming home from N. York in disgust & that Mr. Conwallis Superceeds him, tis Said that his Excelley Genl. Washington has desir'd a Cessation of Arms in Orders for a reconcilliation with England, — Peter Mercy is taken out of ye Black hole,—in the same Paper Saw account of the Tamer Cutter belonging to Weymouth being taken by the Black Prince after a ingagement of tow hours and a half & Carried into Marlex the Tamer had two Men kiled and Several Wounded

*Monday 4th June 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia mounted Guard. Last night Capt. Gustavus Conyngham Capt. George Corvin Capt. Solomon Frazer, and Mr. John Hackett made their Escape, from Prison by given the Sum of 20 — to the — who was on —, the Agent muster'd us and Serch'd ye prison but found no breach in ye Walls, and Seems very Calm, this day we had the Liberty to purchase Strong Beer Nothing more Remarkable this 24 Hours—

*Tuesday 5th June 1781.* Fair Weather, Darby Shire melitia Mounted Guard. this day the following men Enter'd ye British Service vizt. urian Oakes.—Thomas Hunt.—Wm. Addison.—Jno. Allen,—Josiah Marshall.—Capt. Jno. Slover Wm. Read,—Jos. Leach,—Jno. Stevens Wm. Lumber,—Thoms. Crandon,—Browning Ormsbey.—Allen Wood.—Jno. Vanderford,—Jona. Majory.—Danl. Nickerson.—Acct. in Mond'y 14 paper Say the Spanish Fleet Consistg. 33 Sail of ye Line & a number frigates had Sail'd from Cadiz and gone in ye track of ye Jamaica homward bound fleet, they are Greatly affraid they will be taken, noth more Remarkable—

*Wednesday 6th June 1781.* Fair Weather 75th Regiment Mounted Guard, Warm Showers last Night we hear from Brest that their's laying in that harbor

24 Sail Line 4 of which is 110 Guns the French have Sent a large Fleet to the East Indies & a great Number Troops tis Said ye 6 Sail of ye Line & a Number of transports past St. Johns N. foundLand,—and a very large Fleet is Gone to ye West Indies the Dutch Fleet is in ye N. Sea, we are informed to day by Mr. Hunt that a Cutter had got in last Night almost cut to pieces. & Its reported that the French have taken 6 or 7 Sail of Adml. Digbey's Fleet, & that a great part of ye Jamaica fleet Was taken,—one of ye Commissioners, came to Visit us and Enquir'd into our Living &c. We asked for Cloaths & more Prison room, which he Said Should be Granted Mr. Rushel asked him for to Grant us the Liberty to Bath ourselves, he Said it Could not be Granted by reason of our being Committed and wished it was in his power to assist us and Desir'd us to wright to ye Board when we had Grievences to be adressd. he appeared very Much like a Gentleman.—George Mitchell Nathl. Nazro and Isaac Chauncey was taken out ye Black hole and Symms Still remains Confind. It is reported that the Serjt. & Several Soldiers belonging to ye 50 regimt. is under Guard, as it is Supposed they were necessary to Capt. Conyngham's & ye other Gentlemen's Escape. recd. a Letter from ye Duke of Richmond & ye Petition we Sent, he Says we had best petition for Clouth-ing more Victuals & more prison room and omit mentioning Committe War Exchange our being Committed as it would raise a debate in ye house & take their attention from ye other parts of the Petition very Dark times in England the people begin to Complain

Mill Prison June 6<sup>th</sup> 1781. Americans, 224; French, 450; Spanish, 136; Dutch, 302. Total, 1112.

*Thursday 7<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Fair Weather Lester Melitia mounted Guard, this day the Commissoner Came into ye yard, and Examin'd our provisions which are very good & will be during his Stay here P. M. Showers and Warm Nothing more Remarkable—

*Friday 8<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Fair Weather. Darby Shire melitia Mounted Guard The officer of ye Guard is very Strict. & gave orders to the Centinel in the Little yard not to let nobody into ye office, not Agent with out his

knowlage, & to Suffer none to come out of ye yard Except ye Turnkeys, when ye Doct'r came to visit the Sick, a Centinal Was Sent with him we cant Acct. for this Mean-over, Mr. Townsend of Boston came to See us and treated his townsmen at ye gate with Beer at last got Liberty of ye officer of ye Guard to come into ye yard, he Staid with us Sometime after he went out he Sent a Quarter of Lamb roasted to Capt. Manley

*Saturday 9th June 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia Mounted Guard, this Morning Capt. John Kemp went into ye Cook room to See to our provisions haveing an opportunity went off & got into Plymouth but was Soon Miss'd persued & taken, he Struck the Serjt. of ye Guard for Which he was put in Irons & Confin'd to the Black hole Mr. Kemp miss'd his way, by Enquiring for the Wrong Street, he Should have ask'd for Mr. Collins Sign Kings head in tin Street, he went to ye house of one Collins who offered to Assist him and went with a Note to Colo. Richson for Money as Mr. Kemp desir'd but instead of that he went to a Majestrate and informed and presently after retur'd with Some Soldiers, who took Mr. Kemp and brought him to prison, he was soon taken out of Irons & the Centinel was confined

*Sunday 10th June 1781.* Rainey by Spells, Darby Shire Melitia Mounted Guard, this day 102 Frenchman brought to prison taken in a frigate from Dunkirk.

*Monday 11th June 1781.* Fair Weather, 75th the Regiment Mounted Guard, the officers and Soldiars of this Regt. in general is very uncivil & often abuse us We were determin'd to have Some diversion with them, in the Mornng. When they cam & Counted us out we made a miss Count 3 times to plage them, at last they told the agent one was Missing, but he did not belive them how-ever to Satisfy them he Muster'd us & found the Number right, we had ye pleasure of Laughing at them.

*Tuesday 12th June 1781.* Fair Weather, Darby Shire melitia Mounted Guard, from Friday paper 8th the Inst. gives an acct. of ye Action between Genl. Green and Mr. Conwallis at Guilford, but Genl. Green was oblig'd to retreat with the loss of 290 kill'd and Wounded, & Mr. Conwallis's loss at Least is 600 kill'd & wounded,



it is Said this is taken from the Philadelphia paper of March 16<sup>th</sup>e, nothing More Remarkable—

*Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup>e June 1781.* Fair Weather, 75<sup>th</sup>e Regt. mounted Guard, yesterday 202 Frenchmen Embarked on Board a Cartiel for France I Sent a Letter this day the Spaniards was removed to ye Dutch prison, and ye Americans into ye Long prison Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Thursday 14<sup>th</sup>e June 1781.* Fair Weather, South Gloster Melitia mounted Guard this after Noon Mr. James Adams, got into ye Cook room through ye Window, and went out at ye Gate by the Centinal and was not known nor was he miss'd when we were Counted in at Night, A Man that has Money, has friends Nothg. more Remarkable,—Except a bar that was lost in ye officers Ward is Discover'd—

*Friday 15<sup>th</sup>e June 1781.* Windy & flying Clouds Some Rain 75<sup>th</sup>e Regt. Mounted Guard, this Morning the Agent order'd us on half allowance, for a hole we had made through ye prison into the Hospital or give up the person that did it, they thought it best to give him a Man and not for ye whole to Suffer, accordingly they gave up, Zachariah Bassett, who was to be put on half diet immediatly, P. M. Clear'd off. Mr. Adams not missed Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Saturday 16<sup>th</sup>e June 1781.* Fair Weather, S. Gloster Melitia mounted Guard, this mornng. when we were Counted out Mr. Adams was missed and the agent informed who muster'd us & Search'd the prison, but found no breach Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Sunday 17<sup>th</sup>e June 1781.* Fair Weather, Darby Shire melitia mounted Guard nothing has been heard of Mr. Adams, Sence he left this prison Thursday 14<sup>th</sup>e June all the people Reed. Shoes from ye Agent,—we are Informed by ye officer of ye Guard, of peace being Soon Settled between America & England, we asked if they would Declare us Independente, he Said no, but they intended to withdrew their foarces and lieve us. as Spain did when the Dutch Revolted, he further Said they were Sencible that they were in the wrong to make War with us, he had this News from a Grate Gentleman & a friend

to America & Says he is one himself. We are Inform'd of ye Convoy to the Jamaica Fleets falling in with a French 64 Gun Ship, on N. found land Banks bound to america with Cloathing for 10 Regts. 80 pieces Brass Cannon & 80:000 £ Sterling She belong'd to M. L'Grosse who has 15 Sail of ye Line & 100 Transports, Comodore Johnston has had a battle with the French at St. Jago in which ye English got ye better, ye French took 2 Indiamen but was oblig'd to Quit them nothg. more remark

*Monday June 18th 1781.* Rainey Weather, South Gloster melitia mounted Guard this day Several of our people took up on them (unknown to the Majority of the prison) to Send to Mr. Miles Sowriy for Soap & a Shilling pr Week pr Man, Mr. Rushell was Soon Made acquainted with it & desir'd the Turnkey to Let him See it after he had Red it he thought it Proper the whole of the prison Should be Consulted whether it was adviseable to Send it as we had Said that we were ignorant of its being wrote, when it was put to vote the house was divided & nothing Determined, we are Informed by a Letter from Fortune prison that Mr. Tucker & Mr. Snow, made their a Escape from that prison the first of May last,—This afternoon Mr. Silas Tarlbet got into ye Cook room and went out at the Gate, & Set off for Plymth. but unfortunate was discovered, brought back & Confined in the Black hole, Nothing More Remarkable—

*Tuesday 19th June 1781.* Rainey Weather, Darby Shire Melitia mounted Guard, last Night our people began to digg a hole at ye South Corner of ye prison, Molly's House was Search'd last Saturday Night for Mr. Adams (as the Suppos'd She Secreted him) but could not find him, the Constables forbid Molley's coming to the Gates With Marketing, Nothing more Remarkable—

*Wednesday 20th June 1781.* Fair Weather, 75th Regt. mounted Guard, We are informed by the dutch, that they have a Large Fleet in the North Sea, & have taken Nigh 200 Sail of Vessels, Nothing More Extra hapen'd this 24 Hours

*Thursday 21th June 1781.* Cloudy, Small rain, South Gloster Melitia Mounted Guard, Mond'y 18th Inst. N. Paper contains an Excellent Speech of Charles

Fox Esqr. where in he Sets forth ye impracticability of carrying on the american War,—he Sets forth the their having 83:000 men in pay in america & ye W. Indies and do nothing. tho' their Accts. Says they Gain Battles yet they are oblig'd to retreat to their Shipping almost Sterv'd Whilst ye defeated, Genl. Grane had plenty, he Says, Mr. Conwallis Set up ye Standard, but none came to it (200 was coming but were taken by the americans) and their timid Friends Gave them, wrong information, & that the refugees had Ruin'd them, by Saying that the people at ye Southard would not Fight, but would immediately join Conwallis, instead of that they fought as well as ye North, it had been often reported the americans had been 4000 which had been killed over & over, but when the British gained a battle, they had defeated a very powerfull army, he was Sure if they had 100:000 men, & the French 20:000 they could never Conquer America, therefore he moved that the house be formed into a Committee on the American War, that his Majesty's Minesters be desired to use every means to make peace with america.—He did not at present wish to grant the Americans independence, because he wished that might not be done till by treaty we Should be assured that we Should derive Some advantage from it.—He was convinced however, that the business would and ought to end in ye establishment of American independence Mr. Pratt, Sir J. Clarges, Mr. J. Townsend, S. Edwd. Astley, Lord T. Cavendish Mr. R. Smith, Sir George Saville, Lord Howe, Supported ye motion, after a long debate the house divided, for the motion 99 and 172 against it. Majority 73.—Saw in ye Said paper an acct. of our Loss at Guildford Court House, which was kill'd Wounded & Missing 1307, Nothing more Remarkable—

*Friday 22<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Rain. Darby Shire Melitia mounted Guard, rain all last Night The Royal Treasury at France has remitted, by Order of the Minister 2:500:000 Livers in ye Kings frigate la Resolue Commanded by ye Chevalier de Langle, and another Frigate Called La belles, arm'd en route, for New England, in whom went passengers Colo. Lawrence Nothing more Remarkable—

*Saturday 23<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Cloudy, 75<sup>th</sup> Regt. mounted Guard recd. our Money.

*Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Fair Weather S. Gloster Melitia Mounted Guard This Day Recd. a Letter from his Grace, the Duke of Richmond, in answer to ye one Sent with our Petition, which is as follows, White hall June 21<sup>th</sup> 1781 Sr I recd. your Letter Thursday of the 12 inst. inclosing a Petition to the House of Lords. which I presented on Tuesday last, and it is order'd to be taken into Consideration on Monday the 2<sup>d</sup> of July, but I can by no means answer for Success to your Wishes. I am Sir your most obedt. humbl. Servt.—To Mr. Fredk. Molinox, Richmond & the prisoners from america confin'd in Mill prison Plymouth. Nothg. more remark

*Monday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Fair Weather. Darby Shire, Melitia Mounted Guard we are Informed by the officer of ye Guard that Genl. Lesslie is come home.

*Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> June 1781.* Fair Weather. S. Gloster mounted Guard, Last Night the officer of ye Guard order'd ye lights put out at Usual Hours, and if any was lighted a gain for the Centinel to fire over ye prison and if they did not put them out to fire into the Windows.—Some of our People in the Officers Ward had a Candle burning and the Centinal fir'd into the prison, but hurt nobody, this morning as Soon as ye New Guard was mounted the officer Sent the Serjent, to ye Centinal & Order'd them to Load with powder and Ball, which is not Customary at this place, Mr. Denis Buttler Recd. a Letter from Mr. Alexand'r Tindall (prisoner on board the Dunkirk) informing him of a Battle in ye West Indies, between Count Grasse & Adml. Hood in which the French got ye Better & Sunk 3 Ships of ye Line & kill'd Capts. of the English &c. he likewise Says, Capt. Cunyngham Mr. Hackett, Capt. Corvin Capt. Fazir are Safe arrived at Ostend. and that Mr. Conwallis was oblig'd to retreat to Cape Fear River, (after Loosing his best Troops in ye action With Genl. Grane) to join Arnold in Virginia.—Return of kill'd & Wounded & Missing at ye Battle at Guilford Court House published by order of Congress.—



Killed .....	57
Wounded .....	111
Missing .....	161

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Total 329

this day Capt. Silas Talbert had permission to Quit ye black hole and join his fellow prisoners Mr. William Dorsey Died this day with ye Small pox.

*Wednesday 27th the June 1781.* Fair Weather. Darby Shire Melitia mounted Guard this Evening the Deans & Sweeds which had been Captur'd with ye Dutch was Sent home, and Several Dutch men broke out of prison, but was taken up again.—Nothg. more remarkbl.—

*Thursday 28th the June 1781.* Fair Weather 75th Regt. mounted Guard, we were Counted out & in twice before the officer was Satisfied with the Number, Some of our people affronted him, upon which he order'd the Centinal in the Littel yard Not to Suffer anything to be Sold, —one of ye Centinals Last night fired into ye Dutch prison but did no damage. Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Friday 29th the June 1781.* Fair Weather, S. Gloster melitia Mounted Guard, last Night Capt. Kemp and Sampson Symms made their Escapes from the Black hole the Guard was Soon alarm'd and Kemp taken & confin'd again a thorough Serch was made in Plymouth for Symms, but they could not find him, the Soldiers blame the Turnkeys as the Men came through their Room.

*Saturday 30th the June 1781.* Fair Weather, Darby Shire Melitia mounted Guard, This day the Dutch was marched off for Bristol, (in Number 210.) Escorted by the Lester Melitia as far as Ashburton, where the new raised Light Horse will take them to Bristol, they would have given us Some Cloathing, Beding & other Necessaries, but Mr. Cowdry would not allow it upon which they made a fire of a Number of very good articles, to prevent any of the Turnkeys & Waiters haveing them, Recd. no Money, and an informed that Mr. Sowriy has got no more for us, which renders us very miserable No news Nothg. Extra—

*Sunday 1th the July 1781.* Fair Weather 75th Regt. mounted Guard this mornng. about one oClok a fire broke

out in Dock which intirely consum'd a Bake House & a Quantity of Bread this day Mr. Healyard Recd. a Letter from Marblehead bareing Date the 16th of Feabury 1781 Mr. John Green Recd. a Letter the Sam time from home.

*Monday 2th July 1781.* Fair Weather S. Gloster Melitia Mounted Guard, This Day we drew Some Cloathing from the Agent, I recd. a Jacot Shirt. & a pr. o Stockings. Nothing more Remarkable—

*Tuesday 3th July 1781.* Fair Weather very windy. 75th Regt. mounted Guard, this mornng. one of the Guard Struck Peter Aspinal with his bayonet, upon which Peter Struck him again a Complaint was made to the Agent, & ye Officer of the Guard call'd who abused us & order'd Aspinal in Irons we would all goe, they went out Mr. Cowdry Said he had brought the Soldier to make it up he ask'd Peter if he would forgive him, he Said yes, & the Soldier Said likewise they shook hands and matters Subsid'd. Recd. our donation this Day.

*Wednesday July 4th 1781.* Showry, S. Gloaster Melitia mounted guard, this being the anniversary of American Independence the Americans prisoners in this prison Wore Cock-aids with 13 Stripes & Stars in their Hatts, and at 12 oClock drew up gave 13 Cheeres & hoisted an Ensign with 13 Stripes at Learge in the yard, was answer'd by the French & Spaniards a display of Coulers, to the great mortification of our Enemy, the whole was Conducted in a deasant manner & the day, Spent in mirth, P. M. Fair Weather Mr. McLamer made his Escape through the Little Yard undiscover'd. Not miss'd as yet,

*Thursday 5th July 1781.* Fair weather Darby Shire melitia mounted Guard, Capt. Talbert and Isaac Chauncey went into the Long prison, in order to make their Escape thro. a hole which is to be Open'd this Night, Capt. Manley wanted the Same favor but was denied we thought the hole was discover'd but it was not.

*Friday 6th July 1781.* Windy flying Clouds & Rain South Gloster Melitia mounted Guard this mornng. about 2 oClock our people opened the hole through the Wall into a pasture to the S. E. End of the prison, the hole not Being large enough at ye further end by reason of a



Rock, few could Get out without Striping, Mr. Thoms. Ferlis Saml. Hobbell, Saml. Simons, and Zachariah Bassett Wm. B. Fogo and Isaac Chauncey got out, the Relief going to the hue, Saw one of them & the Centinal on the hue fired which alarm'd the Guard. they were persued, and Ferlis, Hobbell, Simons, and Bassett taken & Confined in the Black hole Wm. B. Fogo and Chauncey made their Escape with out Coat or Jackett and are not heard of yet, Capt. Silas Talbet was confined in the Black hole we were muster'd and McLamer missed. the agent was moderate, for him, this after noon 10 americans, Committed to prison belonging to the followg. Ships Vizt. Ship Lusern of Philadelphia Jno. Martin, Jacob Trion,—Jno. Creapole,—Jno. Shaw.—Wm. Leach,—Jas. O.Brion, Littleton Chilton.—Hugh Foarside,—Joseph Mathews, all of Philedelphia, Benjn. Gardner, Belonging to the Ship Harlequin of Salem—this Evening as we was Counting inn Wm. Merry was put in the Black hole, for Saying he'd as lives be out as in but immediately by the Capt. of the Guard, nothg. more remarkble.—

*Saturday 7th July 1781.* Windy. Flying Clouds. and Showers Darby Shire melitia mounted Guard, Last Night open'd a hole at ye N. W. End of the prison, in order to Conseal Some dirt, this morning a Centinal was put into our prison to prevent our digin. and all the Hammocks are remov'd from the S. E. end to the N. W. end below, he has orders to fire upon us if we attempted to Walk at the S. E. Side of the Stairs, Mr. Isaac Baren, & Isaac Hilton confined to the Black hole by the Agents orders for walking at ye S. E. end of the prison, this after noon 12 americans Committed to prison, Ship Luzarne, of Philadelphia,—Wm. McMullen,—Wm. Kemp, Jos. Penny, Denis Delaney, George Moor, Jno. Howser, belonging to Pensilvania, Wm. Vickers, Maryland Jas. Hunt, John Hunt, belong'g to New Jersey. Brig Haskell and John taken 3d May Bortholm'w Molton of Danvers, Burrell Potter, & Thoms. Williams belonging to Lynn,

*Sunday 8th July 1781.* Showers. 75th Regimt. mounted Guard we had 2 Centinals in prison all Night and a Lamp burning this morning Mr. Isaac Barron, & Isaac Hilton relese'd from the black hole, we hear that

Arnold has had a battle, and lost 500 of his troops & himself taken : 1 was immediately Executed.

*Monday 9th July 1781.* Cloudy Morng. 50 Regt. Mounted Guard. 1 came from Bucklin Down 7 Miles, —This afternoon 11 Americans Committed to prison part of ye Luzarne's Crew, Nathl. Spooner, of Plymouth, —Nables Walker of Maryland,—Jacob Stall, of Philadelphia, Wm. Willson Do Brigg Haskell & John,—Jeremiah Blanchard of Andover, Benjm. Brown of Salem,—George Leasells Do pilgrim's priz taken 26 July Wm. Loverin of Boston,—Edward Jeboe of Marblehead,—Alixander Jandill of Philadelphia,—Mr. Sowriy brought our Money and inform'd us of Mr. Digg's returning.

*Tuesday 10th July 1781.* Cloudy Lester Melitia mounted Guard, nothg. Remarkable—

*Wednesday 11th July 1781.* Cloudy East Devon Shire melitia mounted Guard From ye Sherborn paper 9th Inst the fleet Under Adml. Digby is to consist of Six Sail of the Line & 2 frigates, and an to escort a numb'r transports, with Germon & British troops, to reinforce Lord Conwallis,—Nanby 23d June,—yesterday arrived in this port tow american Ships from Edington<sup>1</sup> N. Carolina which place they Left 27th the May. these Say that a detachment from ye garrison Charles, Town attempting to join Lord Rawdon, was cut to pieces by Genl. Greene, so that of 900 men, of which, it consisted only 100 escaped and ye Lord Conwallis by forced Marches had join'd arnold at Petersburg & destroy'd a great Quantity of Tobacco, Nothing more Remarkable—

*Thursday 12th July 1781.* Cloudy South Devon Melitia mounted Guard. yesterday afternoon Charls Lynn made his Escape from prison and was not miss'd till this morn'g when we was Counted in & out 3 times but no Lynn to be found, Last Evening as our people was digging in the Night yard, they were discover'd by a Centinal on the out Side who acquainted the Officer of the Guard they Came into the prison and found Wm. Letimore among us, who belonged to ye other Ward, he was put into ye Black hole and a Centinel placed at the Gate of the Night Yard,—the Centinal is posted at the Door in-

<sup>1</sup> Edenton—the provincial capital of North Carolina.

side to prevent their digging the Agent has Demanded two Men to go into the Black hole on half diet for the damage done in the Night yard, Mr. Washburn & Saml. Harris gave themselves up, Yesterday we heard a flying Report that we was to be Exchang'd for the ~~Sloop~~ packets Crew taken by the Pilgrim. Nothg. more remark

*Friday 13the July 1781.* Cloudy Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard. This mornng. the people were locked out of the Long prison, owing ye Boys deging at holes in the prison, the Agent Call'd Capt. Manley into the office and informed him their was a probability of Some of us being Exchang'd for those Men Sent at Liberty by the Pilgrim, & advised him to write to his friends about it Mr. Turner informed Capt. Henfield that 57 of us would be Exchang'd if no more, & they Expected to hear next Tuesday he did not dout but the whole would go Soon, for he understood there was prisoners Enough in France and Spain to Exchange all the americans in England.

*Saturday 14the July 1781.* Cloudy & Small Showers, 50the Regt. Mounted Guard this day Capt. Jackson of ye Sloop of War taken by the pilgrim came to ye office, Mr. Cowdry told Mr. Lovering if any was Exchanged he Should be one,—Nothing more Remarkable—

*Sunday 15the July 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia mounted Guard this day Saml. Harris was restor'd to full allowance.—Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Monday 16the July 1781.* Fair Weather, N. Gloster melitia Mounted Guard Nothg. remarkbl.—

*Tuesday 17the July 1781.* Fair Weather East Devon mounted Guard. this day William Lattimore was taken out of the Black hole and restor'd to the Liberty of our Yard Nothg. Extra—

*Wednesday 18the July 1781.* Fair Weather South Devon Melitia mounted Guard, Capt. Mr. Callen came to See us and is very much of a Gentleman.

*Thursday 19the July 1781.* Fair Weather, Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard this day we recd. our Donation,—and Capt. Kemp is taken from the Confin'd hole & Restored to our yard Nothing More Remarkable—

*Friday 20the July 1781.* Fair Weather, 50the Reg. Mounted Guard, Francis Henry de La Motte, was tried

at ye old Bailey Last Week for Treason and found Guilty Sentenced to be hang'd by the Neck not dead, and his Bowels to be taken out and burnt before his face, his Head Sevear'd from his body his body cut in 4 Quarters and them with his head to be at the Kings disposal, The above le Motte was a Spy, & had furnish'd ye French with Intilgence, this after noon 14 americans Committed to prison vizt. Ship Essex Taken July 10the 1781 Mens names, Jno. Allen, Barry Wilson, Jno. Morrison, Jn. Ennis,—Alen McLain,—Wm. Cary, all of Boston Jno. Richmond, of Virginia James Patterson of Salem,—Brig Phenix of Boston taken 13the April Mens Names vizt. Saml. Webb, of Sittuate, Wm. Edwards of Portsmouth, Wm. Stralon of Boston, or Cambridg, Richard Feathergail Harwich C. Cod two brothers ye Gallatie Hardy Wilks S. Carolina, Edwd. King Virginia they in form us that provisions and hard money was plenty at Boston

*Saturday 21 July 1781.* Fair Weather Lester Melitia mounted Guard this after noon 28 americans Committed to prison vizt. Essex Crew taken 10the July 1781 James Procter,—Moses McGraw—Nicho. Poor,—Wm. Hawley,—Josph Johnston,—Benja. Gowin,—Thoms. Barker,—Andrew Barber Alias Cassidy.—Jno. Noonan,—Thoms. Baker,—All of Boston Wm. McDonalds Wenum,—Jas. Johnstone Salem, Saml. Stoddard Hingham Edward Tavorador W. F.<sup>2</sup> C. Cod Jobb Field,—Braintree, Willm. Turner of Charleston, David Lewis of Lynn, Bryant Newcomb of Brantree Joseph Tissocks of Charlestown John Norrisson—tak'n Statia,<sup>3</sup> Wm. Troops of South Carolina,—Jas. Crooker Capt. Cod.—Wm. Kenedy of Salem Ship Protector part Crew brought from N. York, Committed ye

Capt. Williams	)	
Doctr. Thoms. Leverett	)	Boston
Homer	)	

Mr. Cowday took the Monies belonging to Capt. Williams &c Nothing more Remarkabl

*Sunday 22the July 1781.* Fair Weather N. Gloster Melitia mounted Guards Nothg Remarkbl—

<sup>2</sup> West Falmouth?

<sup>3</sup> Eustatia?



*Monday 23d July 1781.* Fair Weather, East Devon Melitia Mounted Guard, this afternoon 23 americans Committed to prison Brig Haskett & John taken. 3d May Joseph Pedrick of Marblehead Wm. Mathews of Salem, Benjiman Ingles of Lynn

Brig Friend good will L. M. taken 27the February Last John Williams,—George Mitchell,—Ship Protector taken 5the May Joseph Clark Lebanon Connecticut Saml. Shuckley of Maryland,—David Vallet of Boston Thoms. Ward—Boston

Raphes Sumner—Boston

**1449243**

Richd. Smith—Boston

Brig Betsey taken 13the March Joseph Jeffery of N. York James Conter Do—Edwd. Porter of Philedelphia Robt. Hambleton Connecticut Wm. Martion Maryland Anthy. Belamy Virginia Jno. Longworthy Pensilvania Wm. Smith of Virginia

Brig Diana taken Estatia 2th Feby. Wm. Daives Philedelphia

Ship Bever, Wm. Williams Cape Ann

Brig Ranger taken Eustatia Robt. Remington of Salem Takn Eustatia

Jno. Stockhowes Appledale Boston Capt. Silas Talbot is restor'd to the Liberty of ye american yard from close confinemt. in the Black hole, noth more remark—

*Tuesday 24the July 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia Mounted Guard, We are Informed that the French have taken the Island of Tobago, and 12 or 14 Ships in ye East Indies, and Hider Ally goes on well driveing all before him P. M. 20 americans Committed belong'g to Ship Essex, Vizt. Joshua Davis—Wm. Baldrige,—Michl. Keenan Jas. Clark,—George Rockford,—Jacob Jones,—Morris Conner,—Phillip Fling,—Timth'y Maloon,—all of Boston, Jno. Boyce.—Londndarry,—Gregory Clark,—of Brantree,—Saml. Shermon of Plymouth,—Jos. Perkins of Beverly, Thom's Perkins of Wenomn, Jos. Buckman of Mistick,—Levi Woodbury of Beverly,—Robt. Rament—Do Daniel Redington,—Wenomn—David Thompson Ipswich,—Mathw. Chambers Beverly.

*Wensday 25the July 1781.* Fair Weather N. Gloster Melitia mounted Guard This morning James Bryant of

Philedelpa Enter'd on board a Man of War this after Noon 20 americans was brought to ye Justices to be Examin'd & Committ'd to prison but 10 of them Said they Was not taken in armes and was order'd Back on board Different Ships of War, and 10 Committed to prison part Ship Essex's Crew, Arthur Clark of Boston, —James Richey Londondarry,—Peter Meter of Danvers, Fortune Parker Boston Nathan Young—Cape Cod—

Brig Eagle taken July 1781 Wm. Haskell of Beverly Sloop Hunter taken Eustacia.

May the all Wise God, whose omnipotence and omnipresence is universal, Quickley Extricate us from the Cruel & Tyranical power of Britain who wantonly Sports with Calamity & like Pharoah of old will not let us Goe, however we hope to have Some rain Soon to flow the Springs. Nothg. more Extra Except reed. our Money

*Saturday 28th July 1781.* Lowry Weather, Shropshire Melitia Mounted Guard. This Morng. the Revd. Mr. Robert Heath came to See us, and Inform us that their was a probabillity of an Exchang for us, for we had many prisoners in Spain they Say Hider Alley has taken Maderas, & has an Army 80000 Infantry 40000 Calvary.— today 19 americans Committ'd to prison. Ship Essex Crew. Saml. Cox Dorchester—William Horton Milton—Ship Genl. Knash tak'n Eustatia George Styren, N. Carolina—Thoms. Graysbook N. Carolina Benja. Benil,—N. Carolia—Harvy Ensign, Connecticut—Simon Alderson,—N. Carolina—John Cillaw, N. Carolina—Wm. Turner N. Carolina—

Schoon. Ann taken St. Eustatia 10th March part Crew Committed John Cottrell Rhd. Island David Veal N. Carolina—

Schooner Robertson tak'n Eustatia, Malachi Williamson Virginia Malachi Norris N. Carolina John Davis N. Carolina

Brig Nancey takn Eustatia 20th Jany. Selden Jasper N. Carolina

Schoonr. Danis taken St. Martins 25th March. John Marshall.—Plymouth

Fredk. Blanchard. N. Carolina Melitia,

Sloop Gatsey taken Eustatia John Richards.—Virginia—



## Ship Success taken

Nothg. known more Remarkable—

*Sunday 29th July 1781.* Fair Weather 50 Regt. mounted Guard, We had the agreeable News of Lord Cornwallis being defeated & himself & army made prisoners, but dont give much Credit to it, Last Night 4 French men brok out of prison Nothg. more remarkbl—

Fair Weather, East Deven Melitia mounted Guard, this Day the following men taken out of the Confin'd hole and restor'd to ye Liberty of our yard. tho they lack'd 16 days to Compleat the punishment design'd them ye Mens Names Abraham Quiner, Thomas Farles, Saml. Hobble, Saml. Simmons, Zacharh. Bassett, the following Men Entred on Board a Man of War Viz Thoms. Camboll of Virginia Wm. Leach of Maryland Benja. Williams an English man who Was transported Some time gone for Stealing the aforesaid Williams Stole 16 Dollers from one of his Fellow prisoners, which occationed him to Quit our Company Nothg. More Remarkbl—

*Tuesday 31th July 1781.* Fair Weather Southe Deven Melitia mounted Guard. yesterday the 9 Frenchmen that broke prison was taken up and confin'd in the Black hole, this afternoon George Phips got into the Cook room through the window and made his Escape. Capt. Manley tried the Same Method but unfortunately as he was going out of the Door John Good. Turnkey hove in Sight Capt. Manley came Back undiscover'd the Soldiers found a hole we had began to digg under the Staes, and took away our Trowel & diging Instruments the Agent very huffey & threatned us very much.

*Wednesday Augts. 1th 1781.* Fair Weather, Shropshire melitia mounted Guard. this mornng. all hands turn'd out and the prison lock'd Cowdray has order'd no beer to come to the Gate, and is as full of Spite as an Infernal fiend could bee, A Letter was received from Captain Cunyngham at France, informing us that no Blame is to be laid to Docteur Franklin Concerning our Exchange that the French had tried the British Ministry to Exchange us for English men taken by them, but they return for answer that they will Exchange us for None but Such as are taken under the American Flag, he likewise Says

that we had been allow'd a Shilling pr man pr Week officers 1/6 which we have not Received P.M. locked out after Dinner and remained out till 8 at Night Phips not missed, Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Thursday 2th Augts. 1781.* Fair Weather, 50th Regt. mounted Guard. this day Mr Cowdry Gave orders for Such as drew Cloathing Sometime gone to produce the Same, we went through an Examination, and the New Comers put down for Cloaths, the prison open'd all day and Strong Beer allow'd to come to the Gate yesterday Joshua Davis of Boston Entred on board a Man of War, —Mr. Phips is miss'd but no Great Said a bout his Going away,—this afternoon Frenchmen Embard'd on Board the Cartiel at Cat water for France I Was Remember'd to My Wife and Children in a Letter of Mr. William Blacklars. Nothg. Extra

*Friday 3d Augts. 1781.* Fair Weather Lester Melitia mounted Guard. this Morning Thomas Warde Died in our Hospital, he belong'd to the Protector the officer of the Guard drew his Sword this Morning upn the prisoners because they did not turn out as Soon as he wanted them to we are informed that Mon. de Grass, has Retaken Demarara and Issequebo from the English and restor'd them to ye Dutch, the News paper gives an account of 5 Sail of the Line in the West Indies by the French, and that 6 Sail Line with 6000 Troops was arrived at Boston Some time in May Monsieur Le Motte was Executed out to his Sentence,—we hear that Gibraltar is Surrender'd to the Spaniards, but no News of our Exchange, Nothg. more Remarkable,—Received our Money

*Saturday 4th Augst. 1781.* Fair Weather, N. Gloster Melitia mounted Guard, this day Richard Drummond of Virginia and Thoms. Ferles of Salem Entred on bord a Man of War,—Nothg. more Extra—

*Sunday 5th Augst. 1781.* Fair Weather, East Devon melitia mounted Guard Capt. Edward Chafe, (officer Guard) has ordered his Sentinals to use us with the Greatest Civility and gave permission for Each man to have a pint Strong Beer, for my part I had Not so much as three hapence to purch. a pint and ordered the Soldiers

to fetch us Water the Waiters not Supplying us as they ought to do the Capt. Will report both them & agent to the General.—Nothing more Remarkable—

*Monday 6th August 1781.* Fair Weather, 50th Regt. Mounted Guard, This Mornng. before the old Guard went off We return'd the thanks of our Ward to the Capt. of the Guard, for his Civilities Whilst on Guard, as follows Mill prison Monday Mornng. 6th August 1781 Ward Letter B — Honor'd Sir We return you Warmest thanks for the many favours We have experienced from you whilst on Guard, Especially in ordering and Seeing that we was Supplied with Water, and ye Indulgence in permitting us to refresh our selves by purchasing a drink of Strong Beer which is not allow'd us on Sunday, for which favours we Shall ever retain a Grate full acknowledg, American prisoners.—Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Tuesday 7th August 1781.* Fair Weather Southe Devon meletia Mounted Guard. this afternoon Capt. Christophr Bavage of Salem, and 2 Gentlemen belonging to the Southard came to See us in order to Carry Letters, —Mr. Turner took them into the Office with Mr. Mitchell and Several of our Men and whilst they were waiting for the Letters the officer the Guard came & turn'd our people into the Yard and order'd the Gentlemen away with out the Letters, John Down Sent a Letter the Letters was to be Sent to the Golden Inn in plymouh there they were to receive them, I Was Rememb'd to my Wife in the Letters. Nothg. more Extra—

*Wednesday 8 Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, Oxford Melitia Mounted Guard. Nothg. material Except a few words between Mr. Cowdry and the Serjt. of the Guard, this afternoon.—Adoniran Hidden of Rowley died With the Small pox, there is 20, Down With it Now Some by Enoculation & Some the Natural way.

*Thursday 9th August 1781.* Cloudy Weather. North Gloster melitia mounted Guard this day Mr. Sowrey brought our Money and Sais he had no orders to Give us any more than Sixpence the Money being exhausted. and what we recd. came from Doctr. Franklin, Mr. Sowrey went away in a Grate passion. Some of our people

in this prison, accused Capt. Manley with knowing in what manner the Money was used Mr. Appledale waited on him and Capt. Manley Satisfied him,—but Some of our people Said that Mr. Sowry Said that Capt. Manley Could tell what was become of the Money,—for my own part I cannot tell what is become of the Money. tis Said that we have been allowed A Shilling a week from Doctr. Franklin for Some time past this after Noon Capt. Bavage and Capt. Wacker came to the office and took Letters to Carry to america Frenchmen brought to prison.

*Friday 10th August 1781.* Cloudy & Small rain East devon Melitia mounted Guard, the officers of ye Guard order'd his Serjts. to See we had clean Water, the Water being very durty in the tub the Serjts. over Sett it Mr. Turner Sided with them the wasters was oblig'd to fetch that Which was clean,—this afternoon I recd. a Letter from my Wife Bareing the 15th May Last She and my Children was Well and all the Reast of my friends, the Same day the Spainards embarked 143 in a Cartieal for Spain I Sent a Letter by them to go to america I Sent it out by Stilth because I did Not Want the Agent to See it bareing Date 31th July, Mr. William Blacklar. & Mr. Edward Jibbo. Recd. a Letter from Forton prison in Which they Inform us that there is 374 americans in that Prison,—this Evening after we were turn'd into prison they Moved the people that had the Small pox out of this yard into the Lower Hospital.—the officer & his Guard used us very kind.

*Saturday 11th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather Lester Melitia Mounted Guard, Richard Smith Enterd. the English Service 9th Instant this afternoon, Mr. Coward got over the poles into the Little yard and went out at the Gate, but old Harry Saw him and he was brought Back & Confined in the blackhole. Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Sunday 12th Augt. 1781.* Small Showers, Shropshire Melitia Mounted Guard this afternoon Mr. Saml. Moors came here, by whom we have the agreeable Intelligence of the Total defeat of Lord Rawdon in South Carolina, by that brave & well expearanc'd Genl. Greene Mr. Moors further inform'd us of Adml. Parker in the North Sea



haveing Eight of his Ships Cut to pieces by the Dutch in them Seas, the above acct. he Saw in the London Gazette Extraordinary.—Mr. Moors takes his departur for america Soon, by whome we may Send Letters.

*Monday 13th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, 50. Regiment Mounted Guard. this morng. Mr. Cowdry turned us all out and lock'd the prison we had a great deal of noise with him. P.M. all hands turn'd out the Agent came into the yard and call'd for the Whole Guard, they came Except the officers we form'd a Circle round him & had a deal of Talk, one of our people threw a Stone at him which lodged in his hatt, he order'd the Soldiers to drw their Bayonets and Sienze the Man by the Choler and bring him before him, the Soldiers did not obey through Fear, we Laugh'd and the agent turn'd and went out of the yard, we gave three Cheers after him he went into the office and talk'd from his Window and threatened us very hard, Said he'd put us on half Diet, and we Should not be allowed to purchase anything after hours, however he let the Woman with Milk come to the Gate, in all his action he seem'd as if he would bust with Spite and what anger'd him most was we would not listen to his discourse, what Set him in this Frenzey we cant tell without it was his old Friend & alie (the Devil) by whome he acts, noth'g more Extra

*Tuesday 14the Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia Mounted Guard, this morng. turned out of our prison to Smoak, by the agents orders,—188 Men on half Diet, P.M. after Dinner the turnkey & Soldiers came and Lock the Door, our people refused and told the Corporal they would not goe out, that Mr. Cowdry had done as much as he Could by puting them on half allowance and Showed the meat, which was not 4 oz the Corporal Said it was a Shame, and he'd acquaint his officer, he went out and the Soldiers with him,—about 2hours after the officer came into the yard, & Lieutenant Brown and the other Gentleman behaved very pritty, and did not Insist upon our turning out we Asked the Liberty for a Drink Strong Bear, he Granted it, the Agent came in at the Same time and open'd his window and told us he was Sorry that the

innocent was punished with ye Guilty but he was determin'd to keep us on half allowance till we gave up the Man that threw the Stone (in Short Mr. Cowdry talked well,) at last Seeing it would not do to Stand out and he Seem'd pliable We told him we had drew Lots and had a Man ready to give up, Mr. Cowdry Said if that was the Case, (which it was not), he would not take him, but would restore us to full diet, and give us ye back allowance and restore us to our former Liberties, and if we would keep the prison Clean & the hammocks turn'd back, we should not only have the prison open to us but he would do any thing for us that lay in his power he Granted the Liberty for Strong Beer, and Said the fellow that abused him might go like a raskell.

*Wednesday 15th Augt. 1781.* Very Windy Rain Oxford Melitia mounted Guard This day the 188 men drew their Back allowance, a thing I never knew in this prison, Mr. Cowdry Seems very good.

*Thursday 16th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather: East Devon Melita mounted Guard Doct'r Ball came to See if the prison was Clean & the Hammocks turn'd back, he made a deal of Noise about the Stairs & threatned us with half allowance tho the prison was very Clean consider'g there is nigh 200 Men in it, but they must do Something to Show their despotic power over a few americans, whom they hate as they do the Devil, but I hope God will Quickley Extricate us out of their hands.

*Friday 17th August 1781.* Fair Weather, South Devon Shire melitia mounted Guard,—Last Night, Fortune Parker died with the Small pox in the Lower Hospital, nothing More Remarkable, reed. our money

*Saturday 18th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, Shropshire melitia mounted Guard, This morning the Following Men Enter'd on board a Man of War vizt. William McDonald. Lamberth Murfey,—William Smith, and Robert Hamilton, Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Sunday 19th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, 50th Regiment Mounted Guard We are informed that Juno Frigate is taken by 2 american privateers, last Night Samuel Gordon died with ye Small pox in ye Lower Hospital.



*Monday 20th August 1781.* Fair Weather, North Gloster Melitia mounted Guard. this afternoon, Isaac Cunyngham,—Benja. Bray and William Williams, Entred on board Man of War, Nothg. more remarkbl.—

*Tuesday 21th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, East Devon melitia mounted Guard, this morning Mr. Danford the Lawyer, Son to the late Judge Danford of Cambridge came here to offer his services to any belonging to Boston, Cambridge, or Charlston that was Confined unjustly, but by what authority, or who Sent him I Cant tell, Capt. Daniel Brown of Philedelphia, or Connecticut New London, Enter'd the British Service, Nothg. more remarkbl—

*Wednesday 22th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, South Devonshire Melitia mounted Guard we heared the Mal-lonchally News of our Money being out, and we in a miserable Condition, no News of aney Exchange and our people daily Entering in the English Service.

*Thursday 23th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, Shropshire melitia mounted Guard this mornng. Mr. Jabez Waistcoat of providence and William Lovering of Boston Entred English Service,—This after Noon 11 americans Committed to prison belonging to the followg. Ships vizt. Ship Confederacy taken 14th April 1781 Crew brought from N. York, Joseph Bartram Connecticut Fairfield,—Briton— Chapman, Rhoud Island—Ship Chatham tak'n 4th June, 1781 Simon Lombart, Capt. Cod.—Silvanus Patey—Plymouth, Saml. Pain,—Capt. Cod Samuel Lev-ington, Virginia, James Billings N. London, Nathnal Miner, James Burney, Penciltv.

Ship Protector taken 5th May brought from N. York—John Gawin,—Boston—

Alexander Hunter Nantuckett,—We are in Number in this prison 362 americans the most of us in good Helth,—we are inform'd that their is 29 More on board the Guard Ship in Hammowrs, Nothing more Remarkable—

*Friday 24th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather 50th Regi-ment mounted Guard, This Day being His Most Christain Majusties Birth Day, the frinch prisoners Displayed their Colours and in the afternoon Gave three Cheers. Which was answer'd by the americans as we was conting in,

but the Guard made a Miss count & we was order'd out again, and we immediately drew up and gave 13 Cheers for the 13 United States of America, which was answer'd by our friends and allies there this afternoon rain'd very hard Mr. Samuel Moors Came to Sea us, he off to Boston I sent a Letter by him to go to America.

*Saturday 25th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia Mounted Guard. Last Night we had a very heavy Shower of rain which offer'd fair for Some of our people to make their—Escape, the middle bar at ye N. W. window being cut off the followg. Men put a joice a Cross the piss dill on the office and got over the Wall viz Capt. Saml. Smedley, Nathanl. Spooner, Heman Snow, Isaac Barren and Alexand'r Tindall, but unfortunately as Barren was going down the rope made a Noise the Centinal fired & Wounded Baren in the thigh,—Baren and Spooner was taken up, the other 3 not heard of as yet, Spooner put in the black hole and Baren in the Hospital Yesterday Capt. Manley Received an answer from the Board of Commissioners to a Letter respecting his Exchange they wright for him to have patients a Little longer and Seem to hint as if Something was doing for us,—We hear from Have de Grass that two Cartiel Ships with prisoners on board for England are Stopd. & the prisoners Sent on Shoar again for what reason we Cant tell A Copper Bottom'd Vessell is Sent with Dispatches from Doct Franklin to Congress & to proclaim his Excellency Genarl Washington Marshall of France this afternoon the following Men americans Committed belong'd to the Essex taken 10th June, 1781 Wm. Miller, Wm. Oden, Joseph Gardner, Richd. Garvin, Like Swain, all of Boston, Richard Batten, of Salem—Benja. Lovet of Beverly Sevil Taping, tak'n Eustatia Nothing more Remarkbl—

*Sunday 26th Augt. 1781.* Lowring Weather, Oxford Melitia mounted Guard. Nothing Remarkable—

*Monday 27th Augt. 1781.* Fair Weather, N. Gloster Mounted Guard, last Night Some of our people in Ward C made Several Crackers, touch'd and threw them into the yard which alarmed the Guard, nothg. material happen'd,—This Morng. Peter Meter Died in the Lower Hos-

pital with the Small pox,—Mr. Miles Lowrey brought our Money, P. M. Showers, Nothg. more remark

*Tuesday 28th August 1781.* Fair Weather, East Devon militia Mounted Guard, last Night rain'd very hard,—The French Nurse in the Hospital got Drunk, and knock'd the Centinal down to make his Escape, but the Guard was allrm'd & he Confin'd in the Black hole, Yesterday Mr. Coward, Tindall & Snow had Some Words with the agent, one of them threw a Stone at him for which they was put in Iorns, P. M. this afternoon Mr. George Mitchell & Denis Butler. [pages missing]

*Tuesday 11th Sept. 1781.* Fair Weather, Lester Melitia mounted Guard, We are informed the officers in ye prison are like to git a parol.—this day We recd. our Money, the officer ye Guard very much of a Gentleman,

*Wednesday 12th Sept. 1781.* Fair Weather South Devon Melitia mounted Guard, last Night the Officers of the Guard was in Compy. with our Officers in their Ward till 2 Clock Mng. yesterday 2 Ships went in to the amoarze dismasted & 2 today,—Nothg. more Extra—

*Thursday 13th Sept. 1781.* Fair Weather, N. Glos-ter militia mounted Guard Last Night our people in the Black hole got into the Turnkeys Room in order to make their Escape but was discovered by Saml. Nochett, (Turnkey) and Close Confin'd, Capt. Coward was this day taken out of the Black this afternoon Capt. Manley and Capt. Talbet had made a breach through the prison Wall into the Cook room and Went thro, when the yard was Clear the Signals was given three Knocks) and they open'd the Door with a key for that purpose they had made, Capt. Talbet went out first and got out at the gate and Capt. Manley follow. the Centinel Saw hem,—the Ser-jent of the Guard at that time came out at the Gate from the great yard & Saw them, upon which he asked the Turnkey what Gentleman they were that came out of the Cook room,—James (the Turnkey) was given in a pot of Beer looked round and Saw them knew them and with the Centinal followed them to ye Gate Stopped them & brought them back, they was both Confin'd in the Black hole,—Nothg. more Extra

*Friday 14th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather East Devon Melitia mounted Guard, 2 Turnkeys that tended in our yard (Henry Sandover & James Wills) are Removed to the French Yard & John Good & a new one has taken their place, Long prison Length 133 feet Beagth 20 feet Mill Prison Yard in Length 251 feet beagth 158 feet the Walls round the yard the hight 10 feet.

*Saturday 15th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, Oxford Melitia Mounted Guard P. M. the Wind came round to ye East and we had Some heavy Thunder & lightning attended With Some rain Capt. Manley and Talbet had their Cloaths handed to them in order to make their Escape I have not lornt what prevented them.

*Sunday 16th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard Thunderd very hard Last night Mr. Chadwell and my Self Set up in the Hospital with Michel Sheperd he Died Last Night a bout  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 oClock he had been ill Some with the Slow nerves Fever, We hear that a Number of Troops have Landed in Irland.

*Monday 17th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, East Deven Melitia Mounted Guard.—This day Mr. Cowdry informed Capt. John Gran that he Expected We Should be Exchanged Soon,—This Day Doctr. Ball Enoculated 10 of our people for the Small pox.

*Tuesday 18th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, 50th Regimt. Mounted Guard This Morng. Mr. Sowrey Sent us Some Soupe This afternoon we recd. our Money.

*Wednesday 19th Sepr. 1781.* Haizy Weather Lester melitia mounted Guard, Its reported in Plymth. that a Cartiel is to be taken up for us Soon, but we dare not place any Confidence in it Capt. Manley & Capt. Talbet taken out of the Black hole, Nothg. more Extra—

*Thursday 20th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, Oxford Melitia Mounted Guard We here that Adml. Rodney & Genl. Vaughan are both come from the West Indies, and that Vaughan is in Disgrace for his Barbarous treatment to ye Inhabitants of St. Eustatia, Nothg. more Extra—

*Friday 21th Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, N. Gloster



Melitia Mounted Guard Cloudy in the afternoon and rain'd Nothing more Remarkble—

*Saturday 22the Sepr. 1781.* Cloudy & Small Rain East Devon Melitia Mounted Guard Cloudy in the after Noon and Rain'd all Night Nothg. Extra

*Saturday 22the Sepr. 1781.* Cloudy & Small Rain East Devon Melitia Mounted Guard, no News 45 frenchmen brought to prison Nothg. more Remarkable—

*Sunday 23d Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, South Deven Melitia mounted Guard Nothg. Extra happen'd

*Monday 24the Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, Cold Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard, this afternoon the folling Men taken out of the Black hole viz Alexand'r Tindall,—Nath. Spooner & Herman Snow, Nothg. more Remarkble—

*Tuesday 25the Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather Cold 50th Regt. Mounted Guard this Day Capt. Manley Reed. a Letter Directed to M. Heath and Sowry,—Sir I desire you will Acquaint Capt. Manley that I have Setled with Commissioners of S, & H, for his Exchang against an English Major Now in france, & as soon as I receive from D. Franklin (to whom I have wrote) his Consent, Capt. Manley will be Set at Liberty,—there will likewise Soon be a removeal of about 60 more from your place of those who have been longest Confined I am your Sincerely

Willm. Hodgson

By the above Letter it Seems as if Some of us would be Soon Exchange from this — Disagreeable place and may God of his Infinite Mercy Grant the whole may be Liberated, Nothg. more Extra—

*Wednesday 26the Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather, Cold. Lester Melitia Mounted Guard,—yesterday a petition was Sent to the Board for Liberty to have A Minister to visit us on Sundays, & for permission to our friends to come into the Yard and talk with us likewise for more prison room, a Shed built in the Yard & a regular Supply of Water,—Mr. Cowdry turn'd Wood (Turnkey) a way for getting Mr. Darby a mug of Beer We are informed that Mr. McNeal, Mr. Humphrey and Godfrey with Several others intends to petiton ye Commissioners for their

Exchange Setting for they have been Longer prisoners then others Nothg. more Remarkbl—

*Thursday 27th the Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather Oxford Melitia mounted Guard, this mornng. Mr. Butler and Curtis had Some high Words which Ended in blows, but were parted, - al others had Some Notion of fighting but were ed, Mr. Coventry being Abused by Francis Buttl the morning was determed to have Satisfaction, Accordingly at 11 Clock waited upon Mr. Buttl & told him he Accepted of the Challenge the other Said he would not fight him Coventry Struck him and a few blows past when Mr. Buttl gave out this afternoon between 2 & 3 of Clock Thomas Martin of Marbelhead Died in the Hospital after being Sick their 5 months & 12 Days he Died with a Dropsical Disorder.

*Friday 28th the Sepr. 1781.* Fair Weather East Devon melitia mounted Gard this mornng. Mr. Cowdry reed. a Letter & Order form the Admiralty to Send Wm. Gemeo away in the first French Cartel being Exchanged for a Lieuttnant of the Murcury (Lt.) now is Confind in amarica—form the London C 23 Sept. Spaniards have taken two Garison minorca a Nu Prisoners grate Quantity of marchantdize and a agaziene of Amunition & Warlike Stores, tis Supposed minorca his fallen into the hands of the Spaniards—they Wrigh fro New York they Can do Nothing without a reinforcement Against so Powerfull an army as Genl. Washington got Count de Grasse is Expected at York Daily they'll be oblig'd to Surrender.

*Saturday 29th the Spt. 1781.* Fair Weather South Devon melitia mounted Guard We hear the Spaniards have Made an attact on Jamaica but dont know the Certainty of it.

*Sunday 30th the Sepr. 1781.* Cloudy & Strong Westerly Winds Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard.

*Monday 1st Octobr. 1781.* Cloudy 50th Regim mounted Guard Last Night Died in ye Hospital John Cillaw, Ailas Callio, belong'g to North Carolina, this mornng. Inglis Thomas, left ye Hospital and Came into our Ward, after being a Nurse 19 Months—Nothg. more Remarkable

(To be continued)



## THE PEARSONS AND THEIR MILLS

BY RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON

(Concluded from Vol. LXII, page 80)

Children of Deacon Silas and J<sup>r</sup> - (Atkinson)  
Pearson:

1. HANNAH, b. 6 Dec. 1745; d. 14 May 1816; mar. 22 Feb. 1770, Jeremiah Plumer, of Newbury, b. 28 Feb. 1740/1; d. 30 Apr. 1795, s. of John and Hannah (Burpee) Plumer, of Newbury. He was a shipwright and lived on the easterly side of the Lower Green in Newbury, in a house which he bought of Richard Dole. Both he and his wife are buried in the Lower Green cemetery. He was an attendant at the First Congregational Church of Newbury. Children: (Plumer): (1) Hannah, b. 25 Nov. 1770; d. 28 Oct. 1848; mar. 6 Oct. 1802, Amos Stickney, b. 21 June, 1771; d. 17 June, 1843, s. of Amos and Susanna (Pettingell) Stickney, of Newbury; (2) Judith, b. 25 July, 1773; d. 26 Aug. 1831; mar. 29 Nov. 1797, Paul Plumer, jr., b. 3 Sept. 1774; d. 21 Nov. 1817, s. of Major Paul and Hannah (Woodbridge) Plumer, of Newbury, and grandson of Capt. William Woodbridge, who was a great-grandson of Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury; (3) Mary, b. 18 Aug. 1776; (4) Capt. Jeremiah, b. 18 Nov. 1778; d. 12 Jan. 1859; mar. Sally Ilsley, b. 19 May, 1782; d. 14 Oct. 1836, dau. of Moses and Sarah (Noyes) Ilsley, of Newbury. He inherited the homestead of his father; (5) Thomas, b. 19 March, 1781; d. unm. 1 Jan. 1858; (6) Thomas, b. 22 July, 1787; d. 22 Aug. 1787.
2. CAPT. JOHN, b. 4 Oct. 1747. *See below* (2).
3. LIEUT. AMOS, b. 22 July, 1749. *See below* (3).
4. SARAH, b. 3 Feb. 1750; d. 21 June, 1808; mar. 8 July, 1772, Stephen Noyes, 3d, of Newbury, b. 15 Feb. 1740; d. 1 Jan. 1794, s. of Stephen and Mary (March) Noyes, of Newbury, and grandson of Capt. Thomas Noyes, who was a son of Rev. James Noyes, the first teacher of the Newbury church. Children: (Noyes): (1) Mary, b. 7 Aug. 1773; d. 7 Aug. 1837; mar. 13 Feb. 1796, Theodore Atkinson, b. 3 Apr. 1773; d. 15

- Nov. 1853, s. of John and Lydia (Little) Atkinson, of Newburyport; (2) Sarah, b. 28 July, 1775; d. 4 July, 1818; (3) Elizabeth, b. 22 Oct. 1777; d. 6 Nov. 1862; (4) Betty, b. 7 Sept. 1779; d. 13 Sept. 1815; (5) Stephen, b. 30 March, 1782; d. in Boston, 16 June, 1812; mar. 3 Apr. 1804, Jane Little Knight, b. 13 Sept. 1777; d. 6 July, 1816, dau. of Edmund and Sarah (Hale) Knight, of Newbury; (6) Katherine, b. 13 Apr. 1784; d. 30 Aug. 1852; mar. 15 Dec. 1804, Zachariah Dodge, b. 1756; s. of Zachariah and Sally (Somes) Dodge; (7) Silas, b. 9 Jan. 1787; d. 18 Sept. 1870; mar. 18 Jan. 1819, Judith Pearson, b. 2 Feb. 1788, dau. of (3) Lieut. Amos and Mary (Coffin) Pearson; (8) John, b. 4 Aug. 1789; mar. 7 Apr. 1813, Ann Silloway, b. 15 July, 1791, dau. of Daniel and Anna (Lunt) Silloway of West Newbury.
5. THEODORE, b. 6 Apr. 1753. *See below* (4).
  6. MARY, b. 9 March, 1755; d. 5 Oct. 1833; mar. 9 Nov. 1784, Lieut. Nathaniel Adams, of Newbury, b. 20 June, 1748; d. 11 Oct. 1828, s. of Enoch and Sarah (Jackman) Adams. No issue. Lieut. Adams served in Capt. Gerrish's company, Col. Moses Little's regiment, during the Revolution, enlisting 24 Apr. 1775 for three months and 14 days. His service in the Revolution as given in Vol. I, page 65, of *Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution*, is as follows: Sergeant, Capt. Jacob Gerrish's company; Col. Moses Little's regiment; Gen. Greene's brigade; muster roll dated Aug. 1, 1775; enlisted Apr. 24, 1775; service, three months, 14 days; also company return, (probably October, 1775) age 28 years; also receipt for Bounty Coat or its equivalent in money dated Nov. 2, 1775.
  7. SILAS, b. 24 July, 1757. *See below* (5).
  8. JUDITH, b. 7 Oct. 1759; d. 19 June, 1812; mar. 12 Oct. 1781, Capt. David Dole, b. 21 Mar. 1756; d. 19 July, 1837, s. of William and Judith (Jaques) Dole, of Newbury. His record of service in the Revolution as given in Vol. IV page 852, *Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution*, is as follows: Private in Capt. Jonathan Poor's Co., Col. Samuel Gerrish's (2nd Essex) regiment which marched on the alarm of Apr. 19, 1775; service six days, also in Capt. Timothy Jackman's detachment, service five days. Detachment marched by order of selectmen and Committee of Safe-

ty of town of Rowley to guard Gloucester harbor and the brig *Nancy* bound to Boston and brought in by Capt. Manley. Roll sworn to at Watertown, Dec. 19, 1775; also, private in Capt. Jonathan Poor's company; company receipt for wages for six weeks' service on reserve of roll dated at Newbury, March 18, 1777; also Sergeant in Capt. Caleb Kimball's company, Col. Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards enlisted Nov. 13, 1777; service to Apr. 3, 1778; service four months, 22 days at Charlestown and Cambridge. Roll dated Winter Hill; company detached to guard Gen. Burgoyne's army. Children: (Dole): (1) Polly, b. 25 Jan. 1785. She was known for the excellency of her cooking and "Polly Dole cake" is an established recipe among Newbury housewives. (2) Nathaniel, b. 18 July, 1787.

9. EUNICE, b. 27 July, 1767; d. unm. 10 Dec. 1838.

## 2.

CAPT. JOHN PEARSON, "gentleman," born in the old Pearson house on Leigh's Hill, Newbury, 4 Oct. 1747; died there 20 Oct. 1794. He married at Newbury, 13 Feb. 1787, Jean Noyes, born at Newbury, 30 Apr. 1763; died at Newburyport, 3 Feb. 1832, dau. of James and Jane (Noyes) Noyes. She married, secondly, 19 Sept. 1811, John Safford, of Newburyport, who died in 1829. Capt. Pearson was a miller and associated with his father and brother in the family industry. He owned a considerable amount of property in Newbury and was a respected and well beloved citizen at the time of his death at the age of 47 years.

His record of service in the Revolution as given in Vol. XII, page 29 of Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, is as follows: 1st lieutenant, Capt. Thomas Mighill's Co., Col. Nathaniel Wade's regiment, engaged July 5, 1780; discharged Oct. 10, 1780; service three months, 18 days, including 12 days (240 miles) travel home. Company raised in Newbury, Rowley and Ipswich; regiment raised in Essex county to reinforce the Continental army for three months. Also, captain in Lieut. Col. Putnam's regiment, engaged 1 Sept. 1780;

discharged 8 Dec. 1781; service three months 20 days (including 12 days, 240 miles, travel home). Regiment raised in Essex and Plymouth counties to reinforce the Continental army for three months. Roll sworn to at Newburyport.

Children of Capt. John and Jean (Noyes) Pearson:

1. POLLY, b. 6 March, 1791; d. 21 June, 1806.
2. JEAN, b. 21 Apr. 1793; mar. 14 March, 1816, Capt. John Hancock Titcomb of Portland, Me., b. at Newburyport, 25 July, 1788, s. Capt. Benaiah and Ann (Bradish) Titcomb of Newburyport. Children: (Titcomb): (1) John Henry, b. 29 July, 1818; (2) Paul Edward, b. 11 Apr. 1821; mar. 13 Aug. 1844, Mary Moulton Pettingell, d. Joseph and Charlotte (Pecker) Pettingell of Rings Island; (3) Harriett Pearson, b. 15 Apr. 1823; (4) Thomas Scott, b. 19 May, 1825; (5) William Yates, b. 28 Jan. 1827; (6) Jane Pearson, b. 10 May, 1831.

### 3.

LIEUT. AMOS PEARSON, "gentleman"; born in the old Pearson house, on Leigh's Hill, Newbury, 22 July, 1749; died in Newburyport, 12 Oct. 1839. He married at Newbury, 5 Feb. 1778, Mary Coffin, born in Newbury, 12 March, 1754; died in Newburyport, 21 Oct. 1796, dau. of Benjamin and Miriam (Woodman) Coffin, of Newbury, and direct descendant of Tristram Coffin of Newbury and Nantucket. She was a sister of Major Jacob Coffin. He owned a mansion house at 7 Charter street and another smaller house at 12 Charter street in Newburyport and held pews in the meeting-houses of Revs. Drs. Dimmick (Third Congregational) and Stearns (First Presbyterian) in Newburyport. He was a stockholder in the Mechanics and Merchants banks in Newburyport and also in the Plum Island Bridge Co. He was one of the last survivors of the Revolutionary war and was greeted by General Lafayette when the latter passed through Newburyport in 1826.

His service record as given in Vol. XII, page 26 of

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, is as follows: Private in Capt. Moses Nowell's Co., which marched on the alarm of 19 April, 1775; service 4 days; also Sergeant in Capt. Benjamin Perkins' Co., Col. Moses Little's 17th Mass. Regiment; Company return (probably Oct. 1775) age 26; also Order for Bounty Coat or its equivalent in money dated Dec. 27, 1775; also Lieutenant in Capt. Stephen Jenkins' Co., Col. Samuel Johnson's Regiment; engaged Aug. 14, 1777; discharged Nov. 30, 1777; service 4 mos. 1 day under Gen. Gates in the Northern Department, including 14 days (280 miles) travel home. Order for payment of amount of roll dated at Newburyport and signed by Capt. Jenkins.

Children of Lieut. Amos and Mary (Coffin) Pearson:

1. MARY, b. 30 Dec. 1780; d. 15 Feb. 1808; mar. 1 Dec. 1805, Thomas Marshall, of Newburyport, b. 1781; d. 15 Feb. 1808. Children: (Marshall): (1) Charles, b. 30 April, 1806; d. 29 Jan. 1814; (2) Mary Pearson, b. 4 Feb. 1808; mar. 22 Aug. 1826, Offin Greenleaf Boardman, b. 23 May, 1807, s. of Offin and Judith (Boardman) Boardman, of Newburyport. She inherited the oil portrait of her grandfather, Amos Pearson.
2. AMOS, b. 15 Aug. 1783. *See below* (6).
3. JUDITH, b. 2 Feb. 1788; mar. 18 Jan. 1819, her first cousin, Silas Noyes, b. 9 Jan. 1787; d. 18 Sept. 1870, s. of Stephen, 3d and Sarah (Pearson) Noyes, of Newbury. Children: (Noyes): (1) Horace Pearson, b. 12 Aug. 1819; d. 10 Jan. 1893; mar. 1st, 23 July, 1844, his cousin, Helen Maria Horton, b. 11 Jan. 1828; d. 10 June, 1847, d. of James and Eunice Little (Atkinson) Horton, and great granddaughter of Stephen, 3d and Sarah (Pearson) Noyes; mar. 2d, 15 Dec. 1850, Eliza Frothingham Withington, b. 24 March, 1826, d. of Rev. William and Mary Stacy (Frothingham) Withington, and niece of Rev. Dr. Leonard Withington, of Newbury. She was sister of Mary Stacy Withington, the authoress, and of Gen. William H. Withington; (2) Mary Coffin, b. 27 Apr. 1823; d. unm. Feb. 1895.



## 4.

THEODORE PEARSON, born in the old Pearson house, Newbury, 6 Apr. 1753; died in Newburyport, 8 March, 1817. He married in Newbury, 2 June, 1779, Sarah Wyatt, possibly daughter of John and Susanna (Lewis) Wyatt, of Newburyport.

His Revolutionary war service as given in Vol. XII, page 32 of Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, is as follows: Corporal, Capt. Moses Nowell's company (Newburyport); enlisted 10 July, 1776; served to Nov. 19, 1776; four months, 13 days. Company stationed at Plum Island for the defence of the seacoast. Also, sergeant in Capt. Stephen Jenkins' company, Col. Samuel Johnson's regiment, engaged 16 Aug. 1777; discharged 30 Nov. 1777; service three months, 29 days, under General Gates in the Northern Department, including 14 days (240 miles) travel home. Order for payment of amount of roll dated at Newburyport and signed by Capt. Jenkins.

Children of Theodore and Sally (Wyatt) Pearson:

1. THEODORE, b. 15 Dec. 1779. *See below* (7).
2. SARAH, b. 5 April, 1781; mar. 1 Aug. 1804, Ebenezer Page, of Newburyport, b. 1778; d. 8 Dec. 1819, aged 41 years. Children: (Page): (1) Ebenezer Wyatt, b. 13 May, 1812; m. Melintha Barnard; (2) William Osgood, b. 2 June, 1814.
3. MARY, b. 30 July, 1784; d. 7 Jan. 1828; mar. 18 Oct. 1804, Moses Moore, b. in Newburyport, 9 Apr. 1784; s. of Jonathan and Dorothy. Children: (Moore): (1) Ebenezer Page, b. 31 Jan. 1805; (2) William Pearson, b. 17 Sept. 1806; (3) John Pearson, b. 6 March, 1809; (4) Frederick, b. 17 Oct. 1811; m. Ann Pritchard; (5) Mary Sawyer, b. 29 Dec. 1813; (6) Sarah, b. 12 March, 1819; (7) Catherine, b. 28 Feb. 1821; (8) Moses, jr., b. 3 Nov. 1822; (9) Daniel, b. 3 Nov. 1824; d. 23 May, 1825.
4. ANN, b. 30 Jan. 1786; mar. Aaron Huse, b. in Newburyport, 13 Nov. 1773; drowned in the Merrimack

river, 4 July, 1835, s. of Samuel and Elizabeth (As-ten) Huse, of Newburyport. Children: (Huse): (1) Nancy Pearson, b. 22 Sept. 1806; d. 1855; m. 11 June, 1828, Charles E. Shuff of Boston; (2) Aaron, jr., b. 8 May, 1810; d. 28 May, 1817; (3) Samuel, b. 2 June, 1812; d. in Chelsea, 26 May, 1867; m. Sarah Ann Smith, b. March, 1812; d. 5 Feb. 1905, d. of Charles and Ruth (Bagley) Smith, of West Newbury; (4) Mary Jane, b. 24 June, 1814; d. 18 Sept. 1848; m. 2 Dec. 1835, John L. Lord; (5) Theodore Pearson, b. 4 June, 1817; d. in Methuen, 22 March, 1889; m. 2 Sept. 1840, Ada Norton, b. in York, Me.; d. 17 Jan. 1890, d. of Daniel and Sarah (Blaisdell) Norton; (6) Hiram, b. 24 July, 1819; d. in Providence, R. I., 9 June, 1912; m. 4 Aug. 1841, Hannah C. Arnold of Providence, b. 1824; d. 1900; (7) Sarah Elizabeth, b. 9 Feb. 1821; d. 21 Jan. 1899; m. 14 Nov. 1852, Jacob Rowell of Methuen; (8) Lydia Maria, b. 13 Feb. 1823; d. unm. 12 Apr. 1907; (9) Jacob Pearson, b. 19 Jan. 1825; d. 8 Apr. 1898; m. 29 March, 1849, Harriett A. Knight, of Salisbury; m. 2d, Martha O. Webster, of Salem, N. H.; (10) Daniel S., b. 9 Aug. 1827; d. 24 Sept. 1831.

5. JOHN, b. 1 Aug. 1788. *See below* (8).
6. MOSES, b. 19 May, 1791.
7. JUDITH, b. 10 Sept. 1793; d. 28 June, 1873; mar. 28 May, 1815, David Wheeler, of Salem, N. H., b. 9 July, 1785; d. 1869, s. of Abijah and Sarah (Clement) Wheeler, of Salem, N. H. Children: (Wheeler): (1) Hezekiah, b. 1 Mar. 1816; d. 10 Sept. 1834; (2) George May, m. Mina Hitchcock; (3) John Parsons, b. 1819; m. 1st, Mary C. Rawson, d. Abner and Sarah (Black); m. 2d, Candice Kendall; m. 3d, Louise Carpenter; (4) Abijah Clement, b. 19 Aug. 1823; m. Sophia Wiswell, d. William and Sophia (Cheever); (5) William Henry, b. 8 Feb. 1826; d. 6 Apr. 1892; m. at Olin Grove, Ill., 16 Oct. 1849; Jane Kendall, d. Lorenzo Dow and Evelina (Acres); (6) Elmira, b. 6 Apr. 1828; m. Lester Burroughs; (7) Nelson, m. Sarah Pinney; (8) Edwin, b. 4 Nov. 1835; d. 25 Feb. 1844; (9) Baron, b. 1838; d. 1844.
8. JACOB, b. 1796.

## 5.

SILAS PEARSON, JR., miller, soldier and gentleman, was born in the Pearson house, Newbury, 24 July, 1757; died there 16 March, 1848. He married at Portsmouth, N. H., 29 Nov. 1792, Mary Little, born at Portsmouth, 25 April, 1772, and died at Newbury, 31 May, 1864, daughter of Dr. Stephen Little, physician, surgeon in the Royal Navy, and Royalist, of Portsmouth, N. H. and London, England, and his wife Sarah (Jackson) Little, daughter of Dr. Clement Jackson and sister of the celebrated surgeon and scientist, Dr. Hall Jackson, both of Portsmouth. Mary (Little) Pearson is said to have been very beautiful even to the end of her days and to have danced with Lafayette upon his visit to Newburyport in 1826. Mr. Pearson inherited the Pearson house from his father and carried on the business of the mills until his death. Sometime in 1843, the mills were sold to James B. Knight of Newbury and with that act Pearson's Mills ceased to exist in the Oldtown parish of Newbury after a record of existence covering some 150 years.

Silas Pearson's Revolutionary war service as given in Vol. XII, page 31 of Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution is as follows: Private, Capt. John Noyes' company, Col. Samuel Johnson's regiment; entered service 14 Aug. 1777; discharged 30 Nov. 1777; three months, 28 days in the Northern department, including 12 days (240 miles) travel home.

Children of Silas and Mary (Little) Pearson:

1. SARAH JACKSON, b. 21 May, 1794; d. 2 Nov. 1866; mar. 12 May, 1813, Benjamin Leigh, b. 22 Feb. 1790; d. 20 March, 1865; s. of Benjamin and Abigail (Pierce) Leigh, of Newburyport, and grandson of Benjamin Leigh, a native of England who emigrated to New York in 1752, and married Maersje Bant, dau. of Pieter Bant, a merchant. Benjamin Leigh, 3d began his business training as a clerk in the cordage manufactory of his grandfather Moses Pierce in Newburyport, and later carried on by his uncles. Later he was a merchant in Newburyport, a member of the firm

of Leigh & Cross, dealers in ships' supplies, grain, etc. In 1816, he accompanied his father and mother, sister Anna and brother Robert to Ohio, where he stayed a year, returning to take charge of the mills. He was a very fine coppersmith and some examples of his work, particularly the well-known spread eagle which adorns many New England doorways, are still in existence. He devoted the later years of his life to settling estates and acting as administrator and notary public. He saw brief service at Plum Island during the War of 1812, enlisting in Capt. Daniel Smith's company, 30 Sept. 1814 and receiving his discharge 4 Oct. 1814. Children: (Leigh): (1) Mary Little, b. 15 Nov. 1814; d. in Rochester, N. Y., 24 Sept. 1868; mar. 1st, 6 April, 1833, Richard Page Plummer, of Newbury, b. 5 July, 1810; d. 17 Mar. 1839, s. of Silas and Hannah Harmon (Moulton) Plummer; m. 2d, 20 Aug. 1840, Thomas Stetson of Boston, surveyor and engineer, born in Lisbon, Conn., 22 July, 1814; d. in Rochester, N. Y., s. of Capt. James and Hannah (Sisson) Stetson of Lisbon, Conn. He was in charge of the building of the Eastern Railroad from Boston to Newburyport in 1839-40; (2) Hall Jackson, b. 10 June, 1818; d. 10 June, 1895; mar. 2 June, 1844, his first cousin, Abigail Little, b. at Newbury, 8 Sept. 1816; d. 22 Dec. 1893, dau. of Michael and Hannah (Leigh) Little, of Newbury. In his early years he was associated with his father in the firm of Leigh & Cross and about 1848 in company with Paul Adams and later J. Augustus Adams, he became engaged in the trucking business in Newburyport, under the firm name of Leigh & Adams. His firm hauled most of the supplies for the famous clipper ship *Dreadnought*, which was built in Newburyport. In 1866, he gave up business and returned to Leigh's Hill; (3) Silas Pearson, b. 28 Sept. 1825; d. 17 Sept. 1866; mar. 23 Mar. 1852, his second cousin, Sarah Davenport, b. at Portland, Me., 16 Oct. 1827; d. in Newburyport, 25 May, 1907, dau. of Anthony and Sarah Jackson (Little) Davenport, and great-granddau. of Capt. William Davenport, proprietor of the celebrated Wolfe Tavern. Early in life Mr. Leigh was connected with the firm of Leigh & Cross of Newburyport and sometime in the 1860's he re-

moved to Rochester, N. Y., where he was street commissioner. His wife was a member of the General Charitable Society of Newburyport; (4) Sarah Jackson, b. 29 June, 1836; d. 11 Oct. 1918. She was for many years a member of the General Charitable Society of Newburyport.

2. JOHN, b. 21 March, 1796. *See below* (9).
3. SILAS, 3RD, b. 10 July, 1805. *See below* (10).

## 6.

AMOS PEARSON, born in Newburyport, 15 Aug. 1783; died in Newburyport. He married in Newburyport, 14 May, 1839, Rebecca Boardman Shute, born in Newmarket, N. H., about 1820; died in Newburyport, 6 Feb. 1881, daughter of Benjamin and Rebecca (Boardman) Shute, and granddaughter of Jonathan and Rebecca (Moody) Boardman.

Children of Amos and Rebecca Boardman (Shute) Pearson:

1. AMOS COFFIN, b. 6 Feb. 1840; d. 3 Feb. 1862. He was a music teacher in Newburyport.
2. JONATHAN BOARDMAN, b. 23 April, 1844; d. y.
3. HENRY TAYLOR, b. 1845; d. 7 Apr. 1860.

## 7.

THEODORE PEARSON, born in Newburyport, 15 Dec. 1779; died 19 Nov. 1838. He married, 1st, at Newburyport, 29 June, 1800, Sally Coffin, born in Newbury, 3 Feb. 1779; died at Newburyport, 20 Jan. 1827, daughter of Enoch and Elizabeth (Kenny) Coffin, of Newburyport; at Salisbury, Mass., m. 2d, 23 Aug. 1827, Lydia Brown Pike, b. 7 May, 1781; d. 13 Sept. 1855, daughter of Elias, 3d and Judith (Noyes) Pike, and granddaughter of Rev. Edmund Noyes of Salisbury, Mass. He was a baker and captain of Engine No. 5 in 1810, in Newburyport.

Children of Theodore and Sally (Coffin) Pearson:

1. JACOB, b. 17 Nov. 1801.



2. SALLY, b. 20 Dec. 1802; m. 15 Sept. 1822, Joseph Haskell, of Washington, D. C. Children: (Haskell): (1) Sarah Elizabeth Dimmick, b. 20 Jan. 1824.
3. JANE PIKE, b. 30 Sept. 1807; m. 30 Aug. 1827, Henry Moody. Children: (1) Henry Theodore, m. Harriett Bartlett, d. of Ebenezer and Eliza (Gunnison) Bartlett, of Newburyport. He was an Alderman in Newburyport in 1867-8; (2) Nathan Carter; (3) Sarah Jane, b. 20 May, 1828; d. 24 June, 1901; m. 12 July, 1846, Sewell Brown Noyes, b. 13 April, 1827; d. 15 Aug. 1889, s. of Timothy and Sarah (Eaton) Noyes.
4. EBENEZER GUNNISON.
5. MARY ANN, b. 20 Apr. 1809; m. 16 Apr. 1832, Nathan Carter, b. 4 Feb. 1807; d. 16 Feb. 1875, s. of Nathan and Sarah (Farnham) Carter, of Boscawen, N. H. Mr. Carter was for many years a conductor on the Newburyport and Georgetown Railroad. Children: (Carter): (1) Mary Ann, b. 11 Nov. 1832; m. Charles A. Todd of Lynn; (2) Sarah E., b. 2 Apr. 1834; m. John Thomas Burrill, b. 30 June, 1834, s. of John, jr. and Mary (Toppan) Burrill; (3) Nathan Pearson, b. 27 Apr. 1836; m. Carrie Rice, of Boston; (4) Caroline Eastman, b. 29 Jan. 1838; d. 5 Nov. 1917; m. Charles Currier Stockman, s. of Moses and Joanna (Currier) Stockman, of Newburyport; (5) Lydia Pearson, b. 4 Nov. 1841; m. Albert J. Atkinson of Newburyport; (6) Edward Theodore, b. 17 Oct. 1848; m. Elizabeth Henderson.
6. GARDNER SPRING, b. 30 July, 1811.

## 8.

JOHN PEARSON, baker, born in Newburyport, 1 Aug. 1788; died at Newburyport, 24 Dec. 1878. He married (1) at Exeter, N. H., 30 Sept. 1810, Harriet Poor Carlton, born about 1790; died, 28 Jan. 1830, daughter of Theodore and Mary (Hoyt) Carlton. (2) 23 Sept. 1830, Nancy Lydston; died 21 May, 1863. (3) Elizabeth Haynes, died 28 Feb. 1880.

He began business as an apprentice in the baking trade at the age of eleven, removing to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1814, where he operated a large bakery. Here he remained until 1831, when he went to Exeter and finally

to Portland. He was noted as an abolitionist, a friend of John Greenleaf Whittier, Wendell Phillips and others, and was a deacon in the Advent church, later affiliating with the Baptist church. He was the creator of "hard tack," the biscuit which became so well known in the army. In Newburyport his bakery was on Water street, at the corner of Lunt's mast yard, and before his death he took in with him his sons, John, Harris and Theodore.

Children of John and Harriett Poor (Carlton) Pearson:

1. MARGARET EMERY, b. 16 Aug. 1811; d. June, 1838; mar. Sept. 1837, Alexander Edmunds, of Portland, Me. One child.
2. REV. JOHN, b. 5 July, 1813; d. 15 March, 1900; m. (1) 19 Dec. 1836, Pamela Baker; (2) in 1877, Mary P. Harris, of Providence, R. I. He attended Hampton Academy and was associated in business with his father, and later entered the ministry and was settled over the Advent church in Rochester, N. Y. He returned to Newburyport in 1847 and organized the Advent church there, remaining as its minister for 18 years. While in the bakery business with his father, the interest in which he later in life assumed under the firm name of John Pearson & Son, he originated the product known as "cream biscuit." Two children. He was the grandfather of Edmund Lester Pearson (1880-1937), America's foremost writer on criminology; author of "Five Murders," "Murder at Smutty Nose," "Studies in Murder," as well as a life of Theodore Roosevelt.
3. ISRAEL PUTNAM, b. 15 Oct. 1815; d. 3 May, 1816.
4. HARRIS, b. 23 March, 1817; m. 17 Nov. 1845, Sarah Jane Libby, b. 30 Sept. 1828; d. 26 Apr. 1894, d. Richard and Elizabeth (Mills) Libby of Scarboro, Me. He was in the baking business with his father and brothers. Six children.
5. THEODORE CARLTON, b. 27 Feb. 1819; d. at Madison, N. H., 16 Feb. 1904; m. (1) 25 Nov. 1847, Emma S. Thompson, b. 1826; d. 1855, d. Joseph and Emma, of Newburyport; (2) 1856, Rhoda Ann Whittier, b. in 1831; d. at Madison, 18 Feb. 1906, d. Moses and Lois

(Whittier) Whittier, of Canaan, N. H. Twelve children.

6. HARRIETT POOR, b. 22 Feb. 1822; d. unm.
  7. FRANCES MARIA, b. 27 Jan. 1823; d. 4 June, 1868; mar. 2 May, 1848, George Henry Swasey, b. 24 Apr. 1828, s. of Benjamin and Hannah (Ropes) Swasey of Newburyport and grandson of Hardy Ropes of Salem. Two children. He moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1884.
  8. CHARLES HENRY, b. 23 June, 1824; m. June, 1846, Emily C. Clements.
  9. ENOCH POOR, b. 20 July, 1826; d. 12 Apr. 1829.
  10. ELIZABETH STONE, b. 13 Dec. 1827; d. 20 July, 1833.
- Children of John and Nancy (Lydston) Pearson:
11. ELIZABETH STONE, b. 25 Dec. 1833; m. 26 Oct. 1871, George Henry Swasey, of Newburyport, widower of her sister Frances.
  12. SARAH H., b. 4 Aug. 1835; m. 6 Oct. 1855, Richard Libby, of Scarboro, Me., b. 14 Dec. 1830; s. of Richard and Elizabeth (Mills) Libby. He was a baker and lived in Madison, N. H. Five children.

## 9.

CAPT. JOHN PEARSON, born at Pearson house, Leigh's Hill, Newbury, 21 March, 1796; died at Newburyport, 12 Nov. 1858. He married (1) at Newbury, 11 May, 1822, Mary Ann Kent, born at Kent's Island, Newbury, 1798; died at Newbury, 9 Nov. 1828, daughter of Moses and Sarah (Adams) Kent, and great-granddaughter of Col. Richard Kent of Kent's Island. (2) 19 May, 1833, at Amherst, N. H., Isabell Moore, born at Merrimac, 6 Sept. 1800; died at Newburyport, 11 May, 1875, daughter of Hugh and Susannah (McAllister) Moore, of Amherst, N. H. He lived at 6 Prospect street and also on Robert street, which runs between Federal and Lime streets, in Newburyport, and also was the owner of part of Bartlett wharf in Newburyport.

Children of Capt. John and Mary Ann (Kent) Pearson:

1. JOHN WILLIAMS, b. 1825.

2. MOSES KENT, b. 21 June, 1826; m. Frances —, b. 1824; d. 4 Oct. 1902. Children: (1) John Williams; (2) Joseph W.

## 10.

SILAS PEARSON, born at Pearson house on Leigh's Hill, Newbury, 10 July, 1805; died in Newburyport. He married, 26 Dec. 1832, Lydia Plumer, b. 28 Dec. 1806; dau. of John and Sarah (Moody) Plumer, of Newbury.

Children of Silas and Lydia (Plumer) Pearson:

1. ALONZO CYRUS, b. in Newburyport, 24 Nov. 1843; m. 29 Dec. 1871, Mary Jane Poore, b. 8 Nov. 1846; d. 11 Aug. 1924, d. Charles Long and Mary Ann (Thur-  
low) Poore, of Newburyport. Two children.

## PHYSICIANS' CHARGES IN 1814

We the subscribers Physicians of the Town of Salem agree to charge for our services after the following rate from the date hereof:

For a visit, .75; visit by night, \$2; Obstetric case, \$7.00; reducing fracture or dislocation, \$3.00; visit and bleeding or extracting tooth, .75; venereal case \$10.00; medical advice at home, .75; to a stranger, \$1.00; visit out of Town per mile, \$1.00; Jany. 4th, 1814.

E. A. Holyoke

B. L. Oliver

J. Torrey

J. L. Treadwell

G. Barstow

O. Hubbard

R. B. Mussey

D. Oliver

J. Kittredge

Sam. Hemenway

N. Peabody

Joseph Eaton

—*Miscellaneous Mss.*, Essex Institute.

CONTRACT WITH PETER RUSSELL FOR BUILD-  
ING A VESSEL FOR JAMES DUNCAN OF  
HAVERHILL IN 1774.

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This Agreement made and Concluded on this first Day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & seventy four Between Peter Russell of Bradford in the County of Essex & *Province of the Massachusetts Bay* in New England Gentleman on the one part and James Duncan of Haverhill in the County & Province aforesaid Merchant on the other Part Witness. . . .

That the said Peter Russell for the Consideration of the Payments Covenants and Agreements hereafter mentioned, doth by these presents for himself his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, Covenant Promise and Agree to & with the said James Duncan his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns to sett up & Build or Cause to be sett & Built for him the said James Duncan the Hull or body of a *Square Stern Schooner* or Vessel of the following Dimentions fifty six feet Keil with a Common proportion of Rake fore & Aft twenty three feet Beam Depth in the Hold Eight feet three Inches three feet and an half Waste to be String'd & Gunnell'd Quarter Deck to be about twenty five feet long to be Planked on the out Board with two & an half Inch White oak Plank all except three Strikes att the round head . . . one Strike above the Wale & one under which is to be three Inch Plank the Top Timbers, Beams & all the Knees to be White Oak all the rest of ye timber to be good sound Oak and large Scantlings the floor timbers to have but Seven Inches dead rising at what is Called half floor to have a long floor and to Draw but about twelve Inches more Aft than forward the Plank to be all well seasned to find & provide a good suit of Masts, Booms & Bowsprit fitt for a Schooner of that Burthen To find Rudder, Tiller, & Windlass to Clean Chips, Water said Vessell Stop Worm Holes Caulk & Greave s<sup>d</sup> Vessell and Caulk the Trunails (in fine) to do all ship Carpenters work to a Cleat fitt for the sea (as well unmentioned as mentioned) to Launch the Said Vessell and deliver her Safely afloat to the said James Duncan in the River



Merrimack free and Clear of all Charges Whatsoever. Except what is hereafter mentioned at or before the fifteenth Day of March Next ensuing the Date of these Presents.

In Consideration whereof the said James Duncan do by these Presents for himself his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, & Assigns, Covenant Promise and agree to and with the said Peter Russell his Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns to find and provide all Iron Nails Pitch Turpentine & oacum Necessary for building the said Vessel. Likewise the said James Duncan Doth Covenant and Promise to pay or Cause to be paid to him the said Peter Russell two pounds ten shillings & Eight Pence lawfull Money p<sup>r</sup> ton for as many tons as the said Vessel shall measure according to the Customary Way of Measurement.

The pay to be as follows the one half to be in English goods at thirteen for one in the Wholesail way and at the Common Cash Price in the Retail Way the Other half in New England rum at one shilling & Nine pence Lawfull money p<sup>r</sup> Gall What Plank Said Duncan Does find for said Russell is to go as Pay for said Vessel.

To the True & faithfull Performance of the Covenants and Agreements within mentioned the Parties to these Presents do bind themselves their Heirs, Executors Administrators & Assigns Each unto the other their Heirs, Executors Administrators & Assigns, in the Penall sum of four hundred pounds to be paid by the Defective Party.

In Wittness whereof the Parties have hereunto Interchangeably sett their Hands & Seals the day & year within written.

Signed Sealed & Deliver<sup>d</sup>

in Presence of

Isaac Redington

James Duncan Jun<sup>r</sup>.

James Duncan.

N B for Cleaning Chips Watering said Vessel & Launching her I Promise to Give M<sup>r</sup> Russell two Barrels New England Rum.

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v

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al,



EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE

No. 82

CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS IN THE  
PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM.

(Continued from Vol. LXXIII, page 394.)

88. JOSIAH ORNE, 1768-1825. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 24 in. x 19½ in. Half length figure, head turned slightly to right, eyes front, thick gray hair and short side whiskers, dark complexion. High collar, white stock, frilled shirt, high-cut black vest and coat, warm gray background. Bas-relief of standing figure to right. M 1461.

*Gift of Mrs. Duncan Galbraith, 1907.*

Josiah Orne, frequently called Josiah, Jr., was baptized in Salem 3 April 1768, the son of Captain Josiah Orne and his first wife, Alice Orne. He married 18 June 1786 Alice Allen at Salem. At an early age he became factor for his father, who was a merchant and shipmaster in Salem, and at the time of his father's death was master of the schooner *Sukey*. Josiah Orne, Jr., was very successful in his undertakings and became a merchant of considerable wealth. He was part or sole owner of the ships *Alexander*, *Dons*, *Favorite* and *Malabar*, the schooners *Betsey*, *Salem* and *Whim*, the brigantines *Exchange* and *Hiram*, and the brig *Lion*. Several of these vessels were under his command. He joined the Salem Marine Society 29 March 1798, the East India Marine Society in October 1799, and was admitted in 1800 to Essex Lodge, A. F. & A. M. He died 23 September 1825, and at that time owned a mansion house and land on Court Street, shares in the Allen Wharf and stores, land on Blaney Street, and a share in the ship *Malabar*. He was survived by his wife, the time and place of whose death have not been definitely determined.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 20087; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 125, IV, 141; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 178; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 6, 22, 42, 56, 60, 87, 107, 112, 165, 197; *History E. I. M. S.*, 54; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 142; Perley I, 153; *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, VI (1852), 211.]

89. WILLIAM ORNE, 1752-1815. Oil, probably by foreign artist. Canvas, 20¾ in. x 16 ¼ in. Waist length figure, head three-quarters to right, eyes front, dark complexion, dark brown hair brushed over forehead. High white stock tied in bow knot, high cut double breasted white waistcoat, dark coat with metal buttons. Dark background. M 386.

William Orne, prominent Salem merchant, was born in Salem 26 January 1751-52, the son of Jonathan Orne and his first wife, Elizabeth (Putnam) Orne. He married on 24 March 1780, Abigail Ropes, born in 1761, the daughter of Nathaniel and Priscilla (Sparhawk) Ropes. Their home was in Salem, where their six children were born. Mr. Orne engaged in business as a very young man, dealing largely and successfully in Asiatic goods, brought from many ports in ships in which he claimed ownership. Whole cargoes of great value were consigned to him, upon which he is recorded as paying enormous duties. He was financially interested in the schooners *Fanny*, *Four Sisters*, *Harmony*, *Hopewell*, *Industry*, *Polly* and *Swallow*, brigantines *Eliza*, *Hind*, *Mars*, *Pompey*, *Reward* and *Speed*, also the ships *Essex*, *Hazen*, *Monk* and *Sophia*, and several other vessels. He seems to have had bad luck but once, when his ship *Essex*, commanded by his nephew, Joseph Orne, was plundered while on her way to Mocha in 1806 by a piratical crew. Nearly all on board were murdered and the cargo seized. Mr. Orne joined the Salem Marine Society in 1791 and always took an active interest in its affairs. He died in Salem 14 October 1815, leaving a large fortune. His wife died 24 May 1813.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 20111; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 124-126, IV, 142, VI, 103, 104; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 47, 54, 59, 63, 78, 81, 86, 89, 92, 114, 125, 149, 150, 156, 174, 180; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 139; Putnam, IV, 123; Perley, I, 154, 344; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 320.]



90. SAMUEL PAGE, 1777-1834. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 15 in. x 12½ in. Figure about half life size, head three-quarters to right, eyes front. Dark brown hair parted at left and brought across forehead, short side whiskers. White collar and stock tied in small bow knot, frilled shirt, high white waistcoat, blue coat, brass buttons. Dark brown background. M 3306. Neg. 3267.

*Deposited by the Salem Marine Society.*

Samuel Page, often recorded as Samuel Lee Page, was born in Salem 14 November 1777, the son of Samuel Page, a Salem merchant, but a native of Medford, Massachusetts, and his wife, Lois (Lee) Page. During his early life in Salem he joined the Salem Marine Society, becoming a member on 31 December 1796. He later gave up his membership, but rejoined 27 September 1807. He was admitted to Essex Lodge, A. F. and A. M. in Salem on 5 February 1811 and became an active and interested member. Captain Page began his seafaring life when but a lad, and after several trips before the mast became financially interested in a number of Salem vessels and later sailed as master of several fine ships. Under his command in 1815 and again from 1817 to 1819 was the beautiful 199-ton ship *Diomedes*, which had been captured during the War of 1812. Captain Page's brother, Jeremiah Lee Page was one of its owners. Captain Page was also master of the 113-ton brigantine *Juno* in 1809 and 1811. This vessel was built at Weymouth in 1802. In 1810 and 1812 he commanded the 171-ton brigantine *Prudent*, a Danvers built vessel. Of this he was part owner with his brother, Jeremiah Lee Page and others in 1812. He married 2 December 1810 in Salem Polly or Mary Jane Rust, born 6 November 1783 in Salem, the daughter of Henry and Lydia (Janes) Rust, thus uniting two of Salem's well known families. They were the parents of one son and three daughters, all of whom are recorded as born in Salem. Captain Page retired from the sea in early middle life and spent his latter years quietly in Salem, where he died 1 February 1834. His wife, who survived him, continued to reside

in Salem after her husband's death, living in 1837 on Liberty Street and at 3 Central Street in 1842. She died in Salem 25 December 1843.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 135, IV, 152, VI, 110; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 186, IV (1862), 276, LII (1916), 159; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 41, 102, 151; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 142, 145; *Salem Register*, 28 Dec. 1843; *Salem Gazette*, 4 February 1834; Salem Directorics, 1837, 1842.]

91. BRACKLEY ROSE PEABODY, 1798-1874. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 35 in. x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Half length seated figure, full face, dark brown hair and side whiskers, dark complexion. High collar, black stock, plaited shirt, gold shirt pin, black waistcoat. Right arm rests on arm of chair, left hand partly concealed in coat. Dark blue-green background. M 387.

*Gift of George L. Peabody, 1895.*

Brackley Rose Peabody, shipmaster, was born in Salem 17 August 1798, the son of Ezra and Christiana (Rose) Peabody. He first shipped as a lad from Salem on the privateer *Surprise* of Baltimore, and his next recorded trip was upon the first voyage of Joseph Peabody's brig *Leander*, in 1821. Shortly after his return he was employed by Pickman, Silsbee and Stone, Salem merchants and shipowners, to command several of their vessels engaged in the pepper trade with Sumatra. He was master of the *Borneo*, *Madagascar* and *Exchange*, and in 1846 he shared in the ownership of the brig *Eagle*, which he also commanded. Captain Peabody joined the East India Marine Society in May 1842, and the Salem Marine Society 9 August 1850. In 1849 he became interested in the California search for gold and with five others purchased the ship *Elizabeth*, sailing for San Francisco 19 April of that year, with an assorted cargo destined for sale among the gold seekers. After the disposal of her goods the vessel was sold and Captain Peabody returned to Salem, but the next year sailed again to San Francisco as master of the brig *Cleora*, a Salem owned vessel. Until 1856 Captain Peabody was constantly upon the sea, but after his retirement in that year he served his native

city in several branches of its government. His wife was Lucinda Dodge, whom he married in Salem 1 June 1830. She was born 21 June 1804, the daughter of Ezra and Lucinda (Goldthwaite) Dodge. Captain and Mrs. Peabody made their home on Flint Street, where he died 28 February 1874. Mrs. Peabody died 30 June 1885.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 49416; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 144, IV, 164, 271; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 2, 146; *E. I. H. C.*, XL (1904), 68; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 44; *History E. I. M. S.*, 64; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 150; *Salem Register*, 2 March 1874; Salem Directories, 1874, 1884; Putnam, I, 114, 158, III, 97, 106; Peabody, *Peabody Genealogy*, 93, 192; Information at Peabody Museum.]

92. FRANCIS PEABODY, 1801-1867. Oil, copy by Frances Chamberlain after Richard M. Staigg. Canvas, 35½ in. x 28½ in. Half length seated figure, head tipped slightly forward, gray hair parted on left, right side of face in shadow. High collar, black stock, dark clothes, hand and arm rest on arms of chair, left hand is in middle foreground. Brown-gray background. M 1870. Neg. 407.

*Gift of Mrs. Jacob Crowninshield Rogers, 1914.*

Francis Peabody, scientist and manufacturer, was born in Salem 7 December 1801, the son of Joseph Peabody, distinguished merchant of Salem, and his wife, Elizabeth (Smith) Peabody. After his education at Dummer Academy and in Brighton, where he attended a private school, Francis Peabody set out for Russia in his father's ship *Augustus*. His health, which had been delicate, was greatly benefited by this voyage and he remained abroad for some time, travelling on the continent. Upon his return he began a course of scientific study and gave several lectures upon the steam engine and electricity before local associations. He was the first treasurer of the County Lyceum upon its formation in 1830 and often appeared upon its lecture platform. He was also interested in military affairs, and served as Colonel of a Massachusetts Militia regiment. He was the first president of

the Peabody Academy of Science, and from 1865 to 1867 was president of the Essex Institute. In 1826 Colonel Peabody began the manufacture of sperm candles and white lead in South Salem. The linseed oil mills at Middleton were built by him, and in 1841 he began the importation of flax seed from Europe and Calcutta in the chartered ship *General Harrison* and in his own ships *Isaac Hicks* and *New Jersey*. He also built the Middleton paper mills, where he successfully manufactured an excellent quality of book paper, but sold the latter venture in 1843. He married 7 July 1823, Martha Endicott, born 27 November 1799, the daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Putnam) Endicott. They lived for several years in the beautiful mansion designed by Samuel McIntire at 380 Essex Street in Salem, later moving to 134 Essex Street, a fine brick dwelling where now the State Armory stands. The extensive Kernwood estate was their summer home. Colonel Peabody died 31 October 1867, in Salem. Mrs. Peabody then removed to Boston where she died 12 March 1891.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 281, II, 145, IV, 164; *E. I. H. C.* IX (1868), pt. II, 3, 80, XV, 302; Endicott, *Memoir of Samuel Endicott*, 39-48.]

93. GEORGE PEABODY, 1795-1869. Oil by A. Bertram Schell, 1869. Canvas, 66 in. x 48 in. Three-quarters length, nearly full face, right hand half concealed in coat, left hand resting on book at edge of table. Holds envelope in left hand. White hair worn rather long. Closely buttoned black coat, black stock. Dark background. M 366.

*Gift of Mrs. George H. Lyman, 1895.*

George Peabody, distinguished merchant and philanthropist, was born 18 February 1795 in South Danvers, now known as Peabody. He was the son of Thomas Peabody, who served in the Revolution, and his wife, Judith (Dodge) Peabody. Early in life he worked as a grocer's clerk and as an assistant to his brother David who kept a dry goods store in Newburyport. He soon removed to Georgetown, D. C., where as a partner in the firm of Riggs and Peabody, later of Baltimore, he became very



successful and established branches in New York and Philadelphia. From 1827 onward Mr. Peabody made trips to London to sell cotton and buy merchandise, during one of which he negotiated a large British loan which saved the finances of the state of Maryland. He created a considerable sensation when he turned over to the state his own commission of sixty thousand dollars on this transaction. In 1837 Mr. Peabody definitely settled in London, and devoted himself to international banking with constantly increasing success. In 1854 Junius S. Morgan was taken into partnership with him. Frugal from necessity in his earlier years, George Peabody remained so from choice in later life when his annual income was at least three hundred thousand dollars. He never married, and as he rarely spent more than three thousand dollars a year upon himself, his great wealth would have accumulated to phenomenal proportions had it not been for his great generosity in public benefactions. Considerable gifts towards the improvement of housing conditions among the poor of London made him the object of public admiration in England. London granted him the honorary freedom of the City; Oxford University conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L., and Queen Victoria, for what she described as his "more than princely munificence," wished to confer a baronetcy upon him, but that was politely declined. The Queen, however, wrote him a personal letter of appreciation, and presented him with a magnificent miniature of herself, which is now preserved in the Peabody Institute Library at Peabody. Although he lived in London for the last thirty-two years of his life, George Peabody several times returned to his birthplace, and generously endowed the several museums and institutes which bear his name in Salem, Danvers, Peabody, Cambridge, New Haven, Baltimore and Nashville. He died in London on 4 November 1869, and, although there was a general wish that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey, his will indicated that he wished to be buried in Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem. After an impressive funeral service and a temporary interment in the Abbey, George Peabody's body was brought to the United States in



H. M. S. *Monarch*, which arrived at Portland, Maine, on 25 January 1870. After various other ceremonies, a final funeral took place in Peabody on 8 February, at which Queen Victoria was represented by her son, the Duke of Connaught. Statues of George Peabody exist in London and Baltimore; the towns of Peabody and Georgetown bear his name, and he is one of the two millionaires in the Hall of Fame. Victor Hugo said of him that "having a place near Rothschild he found means to change it for one near Saint Vincent de Paul"; and Gladstone, that he "taught men how to use money and how not to be its slave."

[See *Danvers Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 258; *E. I. H. C.*, IX (1868), pt. II, 71, XVII, 175; *Danvers Hist. Coll.*, XIX (1931), 16; Tapley, *Chronicles of Danvers*, 159-173; Peabody, *Peabody Genealogy*, 49, 100-104; Chap-  
ple, *George Peabody*.]

94. JOSEPH PEABODY, 1757-1844. Oil by Charles Os-  
good after James Frothingham, 1849. Canvas,  
53½ in. x 41¼ in. Elderly man, three-quarters  
length figure, seated in red upholstered plush  
chair, facing left, eyes front. Ruddy complexion,  
gray hair and short side whiskers, white stock,  
frilled shirt, black satin waistcoat, dark coat.  
Table with papers and green covering on which  
rests right hand and arm, left hand holds paper.  
Red curtain in background. Seascape with ships  
on horizon to left. M 369. Neg. 5160.

*Gift of George and Francis Peabody, 1849.*

Joseph Peabody, Revolutionary soldier and distin-  
guished merchant, was born at Middleton, Massachusetts,  
12 December 1757, the son of Francis and Margaret  
(Knight) Peabody. His early years were spent in Mid-  
dleton, but he came to Salem during the first days of  
the Revolution and saw service in the Salem privateers  
*Bunker Hill*, *Pilgrim* and *Fishhawk*. When the latter  
was captured Mr. Peabody was taken prisoner and carried  
to St. John's, Newfoundland, but was finally exchanged  
and just afterwards became second officer on the letter-of-  
marque ship *Ranger*, during which enlistment he was



JOSEPH PEABODY

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severely wounded. At the end of the war his first venture was the purchase of the schooner *Three Friends*, on which he sailed as master to the West Indies and Europe, making most profitable voyages. Retiring from active seafaring life, he began building and operating a large number of vessels, thereby establishing an enormous trade with Chinese, Mediterranean and West Indian ports which was never subsequently equalled by any other Salem merchant. His imports included pepper, tea, indigo, hemp and many other products upon which he paid duties amounting to several millions of dollars. It is impossible within the limits of this sketch to enumerate the many vessels owned by Mr. Peabody. Mention however should be made of the *George*, *Cynthia*, *Mount Vernon*, *Duxbury*, *Bengal*, *China*, *Augustus* and *Leander*, whose many voyages brought to this country choice cargoes from almost every country under the sun. On 28 August 1791 Mr. Peabody married Catharine Smith, born 13 November 1760, the daughter of Rev. Elias and Katharine (Blanchard) Smith of Middleton. She died 17 September 1793, and on 24 August 1795 he married her sister Elizabeth Smith, born 2 April 1767, who died in Salem 28 February 1854. Joseph Peabody died in Salem 5 January 1844, after a short illness.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 165, VI, 120; *Middleton Vit. Rec.* (printed), 41, 50, 99; *E. I. H. C.*, XV (1878), 307; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 15, 17, 32, 37, 44, 61, 70, 105, 126, 185; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 139; *Salem Register*, 3 March 1854; Osgood-Batchelder, 34; *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, II (1848), 368; *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, XII, 7; Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 338; Endicott, *Smith-Blanchard Family Gatherings*, 13-15.]

95. STEPHEN CLARENDON PHILLIPS, 1801-1857. Copy of oil by George Southward. Canvas, 29½ in. x 23¾ in. Waist length seated figure, almost full face, eyes front, ruddy complexion, dark brown hair and short side whiskers. High white collar, black stock, low-cut black satin waistcoat, dark

coat. Back of red upholstered chair shows at left. Dark gray background. M 3427.

*Deposited by the Proprietors of the Second Church.*

Stephen Clarendon Phillips, merchant, was born in Salem 4 November 1801, the son of Stephen Phillips and his first wife, Dorcas (Woodbridge) Phillips. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1819, and at once entered upon the study of law. He finally, however, chose a mercantile career, in which he became eminently successful. He found time, nevertheless, to devote to civic interests, serving his city as its second mayor from 1838 until his resignation in 1842, and donating his entire salary to the advancement of education in Salem's public schools. Mr. Phillips was for some time a member of the Salem school committee, President of the Salem Bible Society and of the Young Men's Temperance Society, Vice-President of the Salem Savings Bank, and one of the managers of the Salem Dispensary. He was also a member of the Salem Marine Society, which he joined in 1828, served on the Massachusetts State Board of Education, and was a trustee of the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital. He served at various times in the Legislature and was a candidate for Governor on the Free Soil platform in 1848. In 1822 Mr. Phillips married Jane A. Peele, the daughter of Willard and Margaret (Appleton) Peele. Her death occurred 19 December 1837, and on 3 September 1838 her sister, Margaret M. Peele, became his second wife. She died in Salem, 15 July 1883. Mr. Phillips died 26 June 1857, a victim of a steamship disaster, while on a business trip to Canada. A passenger in the steamer *Montreal*, he was on his way to Quebec when the vessel caught fire. Mr. Phillips' body was recovered from the river and brought to Salem, where his funeral was held at the Barton Square Church.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 164, IV, 188; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 140, XV, 120; *E. I. H. C.*, XV, (1878), 288; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 146; *Salem Register*, 2 July 1857; *Essex County Mercury*, 1 July 1857; Perley, III, 58; Osgood-Batchelder, 57.]



96. JOHN ADAMS PHIPPS, 1803-1866. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 26¼ in. x 21½ in. Under life size standing figure, a little more than half length. Thick dark hair and side whiskers. White collar, black stock, white shirt with gold stud, low cut yellow waistcoat, dark blue coat, metal buttons, gray trousers. Right hand almost hidden in opening of coat. Gray wall background and window opening upon seascape with boats on left. M. 388.  
*Gift of John C. Phipps, 1897.*

John Adams Phipps, shipmaster in the African trade, was born in Salem in 1803, the son of John and Susan (White) Phipps. He married Mary Smith on 5 July 1827, and they were the parents of John Adams Phipps, Jr., who was also a master mariner. Captain Phipps was master of the 333 ton Medford-built ship *Navigator* and of the brig *Vintage* in 1841. In 1849 he commanded the ship *Columbia* on a voyage from Boston to Manila with a cargo of tobacco, nails, paint, etc. He returned laden with sapan wood, mats, sugar and rattans. He was master of the Boston owned bark *Falcon* in 1851. Captain Phipps joined the Salem Marine Society in October 1854. The family home was at 25 Becket Street, Salem, where Captain Phipps died 14 March 1866.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 50166; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 192; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 223; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 130, 194; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 151; Salem Directories, 1860-1879; Journal of the ship *Columbia*, in possession of the Essex Institute; Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea*, 415.]

97. DUDLEY LEAVITT PICKMAN, 1779-1846. Oil by A. Hartwell after Chester Harding. Canvas, 35½ in. x 28½ in. Seated figure facing right, head three-quarters to right, eyes look towards right. Dark brown hair and short side whiskers, thick dark eyebrows and ruddy complexion. White stock, dark clothes, right arm rests on arm of red upholstered sofa. Medium gray background with red curtain on left side. M 352. Neg. 5161.

*Gift of William D. Pickman, 1869.*

Dudley Leavitt Pickman, merchant, was born in Salem 1 May 1779, the son of William Pickman, one-time Naval officer at the Salem Custom House, and his wife, Elizabeth (Leavitt) Pickman. Mr. Pickman acquired his first business experience as a clerk under his father and also with Charles Cleveland, but exchanged this employment to sail as supercargo in the *Belisarius* to the East Indies. He joined the East India Marine Society in 1800, serving as its secretary from 1810 to 1812, and as president from 1817 to 1820. He became a member of the Salem Marine Society in 1826. Not long after his return from sea he entered into business as a member of the firm of Pickman, Stone and Silsbee. This firm had no articles of co-partnership, for it was "an association of gentlemen who could trust one another." With some changes in personnel, this organization continued in business for a century, dissolving in 1898 a partnership which began just prior to 1800. During the period of this association Mr. Pickman was part owner of many vessels. Among them were the brig *Persia*, which made various voyages to the pepper port of Quallah Battoo, the ship *Friendship*, which was a victim of piracy on the west coast of Sumatra, the brigs *Alert*, *Edwin*, *Malay* and *Ontario*, the ships *Delphos*, *Borneo*, *Endeavor* and *Herald*, the barks *Camel* and *Henry Ewbank*, the brigantine *Nautilus*, and the schooner *Equality*. Pepper, indigo, hemp, spices, and a variety of other goods were entered at Salem, sometimes consigned solely to Mr. Pickman or again to the firm, and the duties paid by them totalled more than a million dollars. Mr. Pickman contributed generously to many religious, charitable and literary institutions in Salem. He married 6 September 1810 Catherine Saunders, baptized at Salem 29 August 1784, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Elkins) Saunders. She died at Salem 19 May 1823, and Mr. Pickman, 4 November 1846.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed) II, 174, 269, IV, 195, 288, VI, 143, 144; *E. I. H. C.*, XV (1878), 303, LXVII (1931), 273-276; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 5, 23, 27, 40, 46, 53, 54, 67, 84, 85, 112, 130, 136, 144; *History E. I. M. S.*, 26, 55; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 146; *Salem Register*, 9 November 1846; Putnam, I, 14, 51, 52, 63, 69, 71, 92, III, 96, IV, 22.]

98. JOSEPH PRATT, 1745-1832. Oil by Henry Cheever Pratt. Canvas, 29½ in. x 24½ in. Half length figure, full face, gray hair brushed over forehead, short side whiskers, white collar and stock, black coat. Dull red curtain in background, seascape with ship on extreme right. M 362. Neg. 2245.

*Gift of John J. and Joseph Pratt, 1885.*

Joseph Pratt was probably born in Salem about 1745. His parentage has not been fully determined. He made his first voyage when he was but fourteen years of age, thus beginning a most adventurous career. In 1781 he took command of the *Grand Turk*, owned by Elias Hasket Derby, and set sail for the coast of Ireland. Here he surprised the English ship *Mary*, and while heading with her towards Bilbao, succeeded in capturing a small British brig also, both of which vessels he sold, realizing for himself, his crew and his owner more than \$40,000. Again Captain Pratt sailed with the *Grand Turk*, this time to the West Indies, taking as a prize the British ship *Minerva*, and another English vessel called the *Mary*. At Martinique he captured the sloop *Polly*, the snow *Sally*, and two other British vessels, the ships *Echo* and *Active*. While near St. Kitts Captain Pratt gave chase to the 400-ton ship *Pompey* of London, overcame her and putting on board a prize crew, sent her to Salem, where she was purchased by George Crowninshield and re-christened the *America*. Other prizes accredited to Captain Pratt were the English vessels *John and Grace*, *Triton*, *Primrose*, and the *Thomas and Betsey*. After the *Grand Turk* became a merchant vessel in 1783 Captain Pratt did not sail with her again. In 1789 and 1790, however, he is recorded as commanding the schooner *Nancy*, the ship *Peggy*, and the sloop *Alice*. He had also invested in the schooner *St. John*, of which he was part owner in 1790. On 16 April 1769 he married Margaret Cheever, baptized at Salem 5 June 1743, the daughter of Peter and Sarah (Osgood) Cheever. The latter was the former wife of Henry Moses. Captain and Mrs. Pratt resided on the south side of Salem Common, in the mansion house formerly owned by Peter Cheever. The family removed to Orford, New Hampshire, in 1792, and were among the

first settlers of that town, from which Captain Pratt was elected a member of the State Legislature in 1800. He spent his latter years in retirement at Orford, following the life of a farmer. Here he died on 12 Decmbr 1832, surviving his wife whose death occurred at Orford in 1809. Dr. William Bentley recorded in his diary a visit to Captain Pratt in 1793, describing him as "an honest seaman of natural powers, sanguine and persevering."

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 172, IV, 214; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 7, 128, 143, 163; Bentley, *Diary*, I, 120, 376, II, 50, 293, 327, 364, 375, III, 11, IV, 244; *N. H. Town and State Papers*, XIII, 137; *Orford, N. H., Centennial*, 130; Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turks*, 14-20, 24-31, 36, 231, 232; Cooke, *Driver Family*, 434, 435; *Concord, N. H., Dept. of Vit. Statistics*.]

99. JOSEPH PRESTON, 1780-1840. Oil signed by M. Vervoort, 1820. Canvas, 31 in. x 27 in. Half length seated figure, head turned slightly to left, eyes front, dark hair, pale complexion. High collar, white stock, frilled shirt, high-cut black waistcoat, black coat. Right arm and hand rest on back of red painted chair, left hand in opening of coat. Dark background. M 356. Neg. 5162.

*Gift of heirs of Joseph Preston, 1895.*

Joseph Preston, master mariner, was born in Salem 1 October 1780, the son of Andrew and Mary (Lambert) Preston. He married 1 February 1807 Rebecca Peele, born 4 September 1778, the daughter of William and Elizabeth (Becket) Peele. Some authorities state that he was an officer of the privateer *Diomedé* in 1812 and a prisoner at Dartmoor. On 20 October 1820 the Bath built brig *Wild Goose* sailed under his command with a crew of nine men bound for Antwerp. She was owned by John Crowninshield and others and was sold at Gibraltar in 1821. Captain Preston joined the East India Marine Society at Salem 21 April 1821. He retired from the sea some time before his death, which occurred 26 August 1840. Mrs. Preston lived to the great age of ninety-six years and died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Richard S. Noble at 67 Essex Street, Salem, on 6 May 1875.



[See *Essex County Prob. Rec.*, Docket 22687; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 194, IV, 216, VI, 160; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 15; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 197; *History E. I. M. S.*, 66; *Salem Observer*, 8 May 1875; Perley, III, 386; Custom House Crew Lists at Essex Institute, 1820; Information at Peabody Museum.]

100. ALLEN PUTNAM, 1793-1868. Oil by Charles Osgood, 1828. Canvas, 25½ in. x 22 in. Waist length figure, head three-quarters to left, eyes left, dark curling hair and side whiskers. High collar, white stock, gold tie-pin, dark coat. Right arm hangs over arm of red covered sofa. Dark background. M 359. Neg. 5163.

*Gift of Family.*

Allen Putnam, shipmaster and merchant, was born in Salem 12 December 1793, the son of Thomas and Mary (Fitz) Putnam. He married at Danvers 20 September 1818 Eliza Page, born 20 August 1794, the daughter of Samuel and Rebecca (Putnam) Page. The family home was on Warren Street, Salem. Captain Putnam's first recorded voyage was as a boy on the *Lucia* in 1805. In 1825 and 1827 he commanded the Salem bark *Derby*, and in 1829 the ship *Italy*, of which he was also part owner. In 1833 he sailed as master of the brig *Governor Endicott*, which he owned in company with Pickering Dodge. Other vessels under his command at different times were the *Union*, the *Eliza*, and the ship *St. Clair*. He was also part owner of the brig *Mermaid* which made several voyages to New Zealand. Captain Putnam joined the East India Marine Society in January 1821, and was its president from 1857 to 1864. He also served as master of the Salem Marine Society in 1853. He was Surveyor of the port of Salem from 1849 to 1854, and at the time of his death, 5 September 1868, he was a member of Salem's City Government. Mrs. Putnam died 15 July 1864.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 208, 209; *Danvers Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 232; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 205; *E. I. H. C.*, LXVII (1931), 278; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 40, 74, 93, 121, 192; *Newburyport Ship Reg.*, 201; *His-*



tory *E. I. M. S.*, 59, 68; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 131, 147; Salem Directories, 1837-1859; Putnam II, 131, 133, IV, 137, 165; *Danvers Hist. Coll.*, III (1915), 92, IV, 57; Osgood-Batchelder, 207; *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XXII (1868), 165; *Putnam Leaflets*, III, 6.]

101. HORACE BISHOP PUTNAM, 1825-1888. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 25½ in. x 21¾ in. Half length figure of elderly man, three-quarters to right, eyes looking toward right, iron-gray hair and full beard. Two gold studs show in shirt, low-cut black waistcoat, black coat. Dark background. M 3139. Neg. 1336.

*Gift of Albert Bushnell Hart, 1929.*

Horace Bishop Putnam, shipmaster, was born at Danvers 5 November 1825, the son of James Augustus and Sarah (Marston) Putnam. He was educated at Pembroke Academy. At the age of twenty he shipped as a sailor from Boston and followed the sea until 1859. In 1855 he commanded the 298-ton Salem built bark *Argentine*. He was called one of the most competent shipmasters who ever sailed from a New England port, making successful voyages to California, the East Indies and South America, bringing home a variety of cargoes profitable to his owners and consignees. About 1859 he removed to Manchester, New Hampshire, and entered the grocery business, in which he continued until 1876, when he retired. He was much interested in politics and served twice in the New Hampshire Legislature and three times as County Commissioner. He was twice elected alderman in the city of Manchester and was its mayor for four years. He married at Londonderry, New Hampshire, 24 November 1853, Rachel Hurd, the daughter of Charles and Rachel (Lovejoy) Hurd. Mr. Putnam died at Manchester 20 April 1888. His wife survived him and died at Cambridge in 1907.

[See *Danvers Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 296, II, 236; *Londonderry, N. H., Vit. Rec.* (printed), III, 247; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 12; *Boston Journal*, 21 April 1888; Putnam, *The Putnam Lineage*, 326, 327; Lovejoy, *Lovejoy Genealogy*, 116; Marston, *Marston Genealogy*, 442; *Semi-Centennial of Manchester, N. H.*, 12.]

102. STEPHEN REYNOLDS, 1782-1857. Oil by J. M. Stanley, Honolulu, 1848. Canvas, 35 in. x 24 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. Half length seated figure of elderly man, almost full face, top of head bald, white hair at sides of head and side whiskers. Turned-down white collar, black stock, dark coat, white low-cut vest, white trousers. Left arm rests on red covered table, books in background. M 3831. Neg. 5164.

*Gift of Stephen Willard Phillips, 1932.*

Stephen Reynolds was born 18 November 1782 in Andover, the son of Enos Reynolds, a Revolutionary soldier, and his wife, Sarah (Simmons) Reynolds, but was baptized in Boxford in 1793. He chose a seafaring life when but a boy. From 1810 to 1813 he served as a seaman in the Salem brig *New Hazard* on a voyage to the Northwest Coast, the Hawaiian Islands and China. His journal of this voyage is in the manuscript collection of the Peabody Museum, as are several volumes of journals which he kept in Hawaii, where he decided to settle in 1823. He was a clerk for William French in Honolulu until 1829, when he went into business for himself. The same year he married Susan Jackson. They were the parents of five children, all born in Honolulu. Captain Reynolds is recorded as commanding the *Sultan* on a voyage from the United States to Honolulu. The first store owned by Captain Reynolds was made of grass, but he soon had a low coral structure upon one of Honolulu's principal streets. He lived in a spacious home also built of coral, which, although of but one story, was comfortable and fitted to his needs. He prospered in his business and was well known among the most successful of merchants. Kind and generous by nature, he took a great interest in the Charity School at Honolulu and held a weekly dancing class for the pupils where he played the violin while he taught the different steps. He became permanent treasurer of the school and served as its general adviser, advancing large sums for its upkeep, much of which was never repaid. He held the position of Harbor Master for some time and often acted as pilot for incoming craft. He remained in Honolulu until 1856,

when, on account of ill health, he returned to the United States with his sister Rebecca who had been visiting him. He died at West Boxford 17 July 1857.

[See *Andover Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 321; *Boxford Vit. Rec.* (printed), 83; Perley, *The Dwellings of Boxford*, 240; Runnels, *The Runnels and Reynolds Families*, 68; *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Hist. Soc.* (1909), 22; *Papers of the Hawaiian Hist. Society* (1909), *Honolulu in 1817, 1818*; also (1899) Goodale-Thrum, *Honolulu in 1853*, 2-14, 18.]

103. ADDISON RICHARDSON, 1804-1871. Oval miniature in oil by unknown artist. Dimensions,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. x  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. Head and shoulders of young man, three-quarters to right, eyes turned slightly to right. Thick dark hair brushed back from forehead and parted on left. High white collar, black stock, four studs in shirt front, low-cut black waistcoat, dark blue coat with metal buttons. Mottled gray background. M 4540. Neg. 615.

*Gift of Mrs. Edward W. Richardson, 1918.*

Addison Richardson, sea captain, was born at Salem 6 June 1804, the son of Captain William and Elizabeth (Townsend) Richardson. He made his first voyage to sea when but eleven years old, and rose rapidly in rank, finally becoming a most successful commander for the Union Line of packet ships sailing from New York to Havre. He was also master and part owner of the ship *Charlemagne* and master of the ships *Francis A. Palmer*, *Gallia* and the *Duchesse d'Orleans*. The latter, a 799-ton vessel, made several most remarkable passages while under his command, once accomplishing the voyage from New York to Havre in fourteen days. The *Gallia* also sailed from the Lizard to the Grand Banks in six days, a record said to be unparalleled by any other captain. Captain Richardson married 13 October 1833 Eleanor Waters, born 1 May 1809, the daughter of John and Eleanor (Shale) Waters. He died suddenly on the steamer *Bristol*, while traveling from Fall River to New York City 25 November 1871. He left a family in Brooklyn where he had made his residence for some time.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 235, 396, IV, 253; *Salem Register*, 30 November 1871; Robinson and Dow, *Sailing Ships of New England*, Series II, No. 368; Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea*, 199, 436; Vinton, *The Richardson Memorial*, 651.]

104. ISAAC RICHARDSON, 1796-1834. Oval miniature by unknown artist "executed at Marseilles in the year 1828." Dimensions,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. x  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. Head and shoulders of middle aged man, three-quarters to right, eyes front. Thick dark hair brushed up from forehead and towards face at sides. High collar and white stock, frilled shirt front with pin, pale yellow waistcoat open at top, dark blue coat with metal buttons. Pale blue sky background. M 2772. Neg. 3788.

*Gift of Miss M. Helen Tibbetts, 1923.*

105. ISAAC RICHARDSON, 1796-1834. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  in. x  $12\frac{1}{4}$  in. Standing full length figure about one-sixth life size, head slightly to right, eyes to left. Thick dark hair, white collar and stock, frilled shirt, pale yellow waistcoat, black frock coat, dark grey trousers. Holds spyglass in right hand, tall hat in left hand. Green garden seat and trees to left, lake and boat in middle distance. Landscape and sky background. M 2143.

*Gift of Mrs. Edward W. Richardson, 1916.*

Isaac Richardson was born in Salem 23 February 1796, the son of Captain William and Elizabeth (Townsend) Richardson. He was a brother of Captain Addison Richardson, who also followed the sea. In 1834, while first officer of the ship *Salem* of New Orleans, he fell on the deck, receiving injuries which shortly resulted in his death at Havre, France, 28 July 1834. He was of a gentle and kindly disposition "which endeared him to an extensive circle of acquaintances."

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 23601; *Essex Co. Reg. of Deeds*, CCXXII, 307; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 236, VI, 185; Vinton, *The Richardson Memorial*, 591.]



106. WILLIAM RICHARDSON, 1769-1807. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas,  $25\frac{1}{4}$  in. x  $18\frac{3}{4}$  in. Waist length figure, curling brown hair brushed over forehead, short side whiskers, almost full face, eyes front, ruddy complexion. High white collar and white waistcoat, white stock tied in small bow knot, dark blue coat, right hand almost hidden in coat opening. Medium gray background. M 2773.

*Gift of Miss M. Helen Tibbetts, 1923.*

William Richardson, shipmaster, was born in Salem 8 April 1769, the son of Captain Addison Richardson, a Revolutionary soldier, and his first wife, Mary (Greenleaf) Richardson. He married 17 March 1788, Elizabeth Townsend, born 25 January 1771, the daughter of Moses and Hannah (Lambert) Townsend. She died 2 May 1854 at Ipswich. Their home was always at Salem, where all their numerous children were born. Captain Richardson was an active and enterprising shipmaster, a member of the Salem Marine Society in 1797 and a charter member of the East India Marine Society in 1799. Among the vessels under his command were the ship *Eliza* and the brigantines *Liberty* and *Exchange*. He was also part owner of the latter vessel with Elias Hasket Derby. The log of the ship *Eliza*, commanded by Captain Richardson in 1805-1806, shows voyages to the East Indies, the Isle of France, New South Wales, New Zealand, Caledonia, Palembang and Canton. He died at Salem 8 December 1807 and an obituary of the period describes him as "one of those rare characters whom the breath of slander and the shaft of malice could never reach."

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 237, IV, 256, VI, 186; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 111; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 47, 56, 107; *History E. I. M. S.*, 54; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 142; Bentley, *Diary*, III, 332; Log of the ship *Eliza*, at Essex Institute; *Timothy Williams' Marine Notes*, typed manuscript at Essex Institute, 103; Waters, *Notes on the Townsend Family*, 22, 23; Vinton, *The Richardson Memorial*, 591.]



107. JOHN ROBINSON, 1846-1925. Oil by Frank W. Benson, 1916. Canvas,  $43\frac{1}{4}$  in. x  $35\frac{1}{2}$  in. Seated figure of elderly man, gray hair, beard and moustache, wears spectacles, high collar, blue tie with pin, dark coat and vest, gray trousers, gold watch chain. Arms rest on arms of chair, fingers interlocked. Warm dark background. M 2213.

*Gift of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum and Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott, 1917.*

John Robinson was born in Salem 13 July 1846, the son of John and Lucy Pickering (Stone) Robinson. As a boy he was a keen collector of coins and curiosities, and soon developed an interest in history and natural science. At fifteen he became a member of the Essex Institute: at seventeen he was appointed curator of the Civil War relics and later of the entire historical department. After a brief interlude in the commission house of Alden Speare in Boston, where he learned the business methods of the day, he returned to Salem, and in 1874 took charge of the Herbarium of the Peabody Museum, a task which better suited his natural inclinations and for which he had been prepared by special courses in botany at Harvard University. In 1875, he was appointed a Trustee and Treasurer of the Museum, to which he gave nearly all of his time until his death on 9 April 1925. For many years he was in charge of the Museum as Acting Director during the long absences of Professor Edward S. Morse. With these administrative and financial responsibilities he combined a keen interest in the growth and orientation of the collections. Originally a botanist and chiefly concerned with the Herbarium, his enthusiasm for the history of Salem led to the idea of developing a Marine Department in the Museum as a memorial of the East India Marine Society. The preservation of the relics of that Society and the accumulation of other material relating to the maritime history of Salem absorbed him for many years, and it was due to his initiative that the present Marine Room was fitted out and opened in 1905. In 1921 Mr. Robinson published an illustrated catalogue of the Marine collections. The development of that depart-

ment has been so extensive that an additional room, named in his honor, was opened in 1930, and space is already at a premium for carrying on the work which he began single handed at a time when popular interest in marine matters hardly existed. In 1913 Mr. Robinson gave his extensive collection of Far Eastern coins to the Essex Institute. His early interest in horticulture remained keen; in 1895 he planned the garden of the Salem Club, and in 1912 that of the Ropes Memorial. With Thomas Franklin Hunt he planned and compiled the *Visitor's Guide to Salem*, first published in 1892, and subsequently many times reprinted. Mr. Robinson was at various times a member of the Salem common council, the school board, sewer board and board of health, as well as a trustee of various local organizations. On 21 October 1869 he married Elizabeth Rollins Kemble, born at Wenham, the daughter of Edmund and Mary (Beckford) Kemble. They were the parents of three children. Mrs. Robinson died 3 October 1935 in Salem.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 242; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XIII, 16, XXXI, 59; *History E. I. M. S.*, 67; *Salem Evening News*, 10 April 1925; Morse, *John Robinson, Botanist*.]

108. JOHN ROGERS, 1500-1555. Oil copy by Henry Whittingham Rogers, 1847. Canvas, 30 in. x 25 in. Head and shoulders, head three-quarters to right, dark complexion, eyes front. White skull cap, brown square-cut beard, starched white ruff and ruffled undersleeves, dark coat. Hand holds open book which rests on table. Brown background. M 4542. Neg. 3273.

*Purchase, 1932.*

John Rogers, English Protestant martyr, was born about 1500, near Birmingham, England, and was graduated at Cambridge in 1526. Educated as a Roman Catholic priest, he went to Antwerp in 1534, and while there, under the influence of William Tyndale he abandoned the Roman faith and later took charge of a Protestant congregation at Wittenburg. His wife was from Antwerp. After Tyndale's death Rogers continued the translation

of the Old Testament, begun by Tyndale, which he published under the pseudonym of Thomas Matthew in 1537. He returned to England in 1548, enjoyed the Crown livings of St. Margaret Moyes and St. Sepulture in London and was Divinity lecturer at St. Paul's. Fearless in his preaching, he denounced "pestilent Popery and idolatry" and would not wear the prescribed vestments. Feeling he was overstepping his bounds in this as well as many other ways, the Privy Council finally took away his emoluments and in 1554 Bonner, bishop of London, sent him to Newgate prison, from which in 1555 he went forth to trial. Cardinal Pole's commission accused him of denying the Christian character of the Roman Church and certain other basic doctrines and he was sentenced to death. Rogers was executed 4 February 1555 at Smithfield. He went to his doom with courage and cheerfulness, although denied everything, even a farewell interview with his wife. He was the first Protestant martyr of Queen Mary's reign.

[See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXIII (1911), 456; Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography* (1903), 1123; Lippincott, *Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary* (5th edition), 2076.]

109. JOHN ROGERS, 1572-1636. Oil copy by Henry Whittingham Rogers, 1847, of original painted 1623. Canvas, 30 in. x 35 in. Head and shoulders, light complexion, face three-quarters to right, eyes front, long fair curling hair, full beard. Black coat, brown fur collar, dark background. M 4543. Neg. 3272.

*Purchase, 1932.*

John Rogers was born about 1572 in England. His father was the fourth son of the Rev. John Rogers, Protestant martyr. His early years were passed at Weathersfield, England, and he was educated at Cambridge. His first vicarage was at Hemingham in Norfolk, and at the age of thirty-four years he became vicar of Dedham. Here he lived for many years, but so radical was his preaching that his lectures were suppressed on the ground of non-conformity. Distressed by this circumstance, as well as

by fears for the future, he often urged young men to make a home in the New World where feelings were thought to be more tolerant. His son Nathaniel had already embarked for the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Mr. Rogers was anxious lest the earnest youth and his companions should want for material sustenance. In an interesting letter to John Winthrop, Jr., he writes: "If I have fitt meanes I will send over a cow or a bullock or 2." Mr. Rogers died, it is said of a broken heart, in 1636. His funeral was held at the Dedham church and so large was the attending concourse of people that "the gallery was soe overloaden that it sunck and cract and the people were sore affrighted, but by a miracle it stood." Mr. Rogers was thrice married. The name of his first wife is unknown; his second wife was Elizabeth Gold, widow of John Hawes, and his third was Dorothy Stanton, widow of Richard Wiseman of Wighborough, Essex. The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, Massachusetts, was the son of his second wife.

[See Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1123; Caldwell, *Memory of Dedham, Eng.*; and *Gleanings of the Life of Rev. John Rogers*, 1-12; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, V (1851), 105, 118, 128-132.]

110. JOHN WHITTINGHAM ROGERS, 1787-1872. Oil by Georgina Campbell. Canvas, 35 in. x 28½ in. Seated figure of elderly man, eyes front, top of head bald, gray hair at sides of head, short side whiskers. White collar, black stock, dark clothes, heavy gold watch chain. Right arm rests on book on table, hand hangs over edge. Red upholstered chair shows at right. Mottled background. M 350. Neg. 2565.

*Gift of Mrs. Martha Pickman Rogers Codman, 1896.*

John Whittingham Rogers, merchant, was born at Ipswich 10 November 1787, the second son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Dodge) Rogers. As a very young man, after the removal of the family to Salem, he sailed for his brothers on several of their vessels as factor and supercargo. These voyages were to Bombay and various Asiatic ports. In 1807 and 1808 he shipped in the *Arab*



and the *Mentor* to Sumatra for pepper and afterwards in the *Orestes* and *Adeline* to Russia. Mr. Rogers belonged to a company of cavalry in Salem about 1812, and joined the East India Marine Society in 1813. He removed for a short time to Boston, where he associated himself in business with his brother-in-law, Hon. Benjamin Pickman, but when the firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers was established he returned to Salem and was identified with them in a commercial partnership. His shipping interests outside those of the firm included part ownership in the ship *Tybee* and the brigs *Pioneer*, *Beulah*, *Otter*, *Texal* and *Thetis*. The latter vessel was in the Madagascar trade, and the *Nereus*, built by his brother Nathaniel Leavitt Rogers and himself at Bradford in 1817, made several voyages to India and Oregon. In 1842 this vessel opened the first trade from the Pacific to New South Wales. About 1843 Mr. Rogers again left Salem to make his home at Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, but after some years there he removed to Boston where he spent the rest of his life. He married 11 June 1815, at Lancaster, Anstiss Derby Pickman, born at Salem 11 July 1793, the daughter of Benjamin and Anstiss (Derby) Pickman. She died at Brattleboro, Vermont, 29 August 1856. Mr. Rogers died 9 December 1872 at the Tremont House, Boston.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 174, 244; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 133; *History E. I. M. S.*, 58; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 26, 137, 146, 183; *Salem Register*, 12 December 1872; Putnam, I, 39, 45, 141, IV, 22, 23, 29, 35, 76, 86; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XIII (1859), 67; Dow, *Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman*, 38, 39; Information at Peabody Museum.]

111. NATHANIEL LEVERETT ROGERS, 1785-1858. Oval cabinet oil, bordered by narrow yellow band. Canvas, 10½ in. x 8½ in. Half length portrait of young man, quarter life size, full three-quarters to left, eyes left. Brown curling hair brushed over forehead, high collar, white stock tied in small bow knot, deep yellow waistcoat,



dark blue coat with brass buttons. Medium gray background. M 329. Neg. 2269.

*Gift of A. D. and E. S. Rogers, 1885.*

Nathaniel Leverett Rogers was born at Ipswich 6 August 1785, the son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Dodge) Rogers. His parents lived for a time at Ipswich but removed to Salem previous to 1792, where several of their children were baptized and where their mother kept a successful private school. Mr. Rogers married at Salem 24 October 1813 Harriet Wait, born 28 June 1790, the daughter of Aaron Wait, a prominent Salem merchant of the firm of Wait & Pierce. Her mother was Elizabeth (Call) Wait, formerly of Charlestown. Mr. Rogers was educated at Ipswich, Newburyport and Salem and also studied a year at Phillips Exeter Academy. He then entered the counting house of George Crowninshield & Sons, Salem merchants, as a clerk. He sailed as master of the brig *Independence* in 1809-10 for Danvers owners and the same year he was in command of the ship *Java*, owned by John Derby and John Prince of Boston. Captain Rogers was selectman of Salem, cashier of the Commercial Bank and the first president of the Mercantile Bank in Salem. He became a member of the East India Marine Society in 1813, its secretary in 1820, and its president in 1830. About 1818 he joined with his brother, John Whittingham Rogers, in the purchase of the brigs *Nereus* and *Pioneer*. Then, forming a partnership which included another brother, Richard Saltonstall Rogers, the new firm became known as N. L. Rogers & Company. From 1825 to 1840 they purchased the brigs *Active*, *Charles Doggett*, *Harbinger*, *Quill*, *Roscius* and *Talent*, the ships *Augustus*, *Black Warrior*, *Clay*, *Crusoe*, *Lydia*, *Perseverance*, *Shepardess* and *Tybee*, and the schooners *Lady Sarah*, *Spy* and *Virginia*. With these vessels the firm engaged in the East India, Zanzibar, Manila, Rio Grande and New Holland trades and were pioneers at the Fiji Islands, where they secured quantities of beche-de-mer and edible birds' nests, which they marketed to good advantage in China. The Rogers' firm were among the first to import wool from Australia, which they sent home in the brig *Tybee*, and large cargoes of

gum copal filled the hold of the *Black Warrior* for the American trade. The story of the brig *Charles Doggett*, another Rogers vessel, is full of romantic interest. She was plundered by the natives at the Fiji and Pelew Islands in 1833 and also figured in the return of the Pitcairn Islanders from Tahiti by the kind hearted Captain Driver. The good seamanship and excellent commercial judgment of the Rogers' carefully selected captains contributed largely to the success of their voyages, and the firm attained a prominence among Salem's merchants equalled by none. Captain and Mrs. Rogers lived at 376 Essex Street, Salem, where he died 31 July 1858. Mrs. Rogers lived to the great age of ninety-three years and died in Salem 18 September 1882.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 244, 381, III, 266; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 149; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 4, 15, 22, 31, 33, 37, 78, 91, 95, 103, 111, 132, 144, 146, 152, 160, 175, 182, 190, 194; *History E. I. M. S.*, 58, 68, 69, 71; *Salem Register*, 21 September 1882; *Salem Directory*, 1857; *Putnam*, I, 52, 55, 117, 120, 141, III, 113, IV, 7-10, 22; *Osgood-Batchelder*, 144, 157, 163, 168, 171; *Felt, Annals of Salem*, II, 357; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XII (1859), 65; Information at Peabody Museum.]

112. RICHARD SALTONSTALL ROGERS, 1790-1873. Oil by Robert Hinkley of Washington, from photographs, 1888. Canvas, 31 in. x 25 in. Waist length figure of elderly man, almost full face, eyes looking front, gray hair thin on top of head, gray side whiskers. White collar, black stock, black suit, right hand in opening of coat. Dark background. M349. Neg. 2566.

*Gift of William B., Richard D., Jacob C. and Arthur S. Rogers, 1886.*

Richard Saltonstall Rogers was born in Ipswich in 1790, the son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Dodge) Rogers. He was the youngest of the notable firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers and early made several voyages as supercargo to distant ports in their employ. A Whig in politics, he represented Salem in the House of Representatives and

the County in the Senate. In municipal affairs he served as a member of the Common Council in 1836-7 and was its president in 1838. He joined the East India Marine Society in March 1819, was a member of its Committee of Observation in 1823 and its president 1836-1839. Among the vessels in which Mr. Rogers was interested, apart from those owned by his firm, were the schooners *Agawam* and *Para*, the brig *Falcon*, the bark *Said Bin Sultan*, the sloop *Stork*, the ships *Columbia*, *Diomedé*, and the extreme clipper ship *Witchcraft*, the latter built for fast trade to the Pacific. He also commanded the *Spy* in 1826 on a successful voyage to Bombay. His interests on the whole were closely identified with those of his brothers and with them he accumulated a considerable fortune. On 14 May 1822 he married Sarah Gardner Crowninshield, baptized in Salem 4 May 1800, the daughter of Jacob and Sarah (Gardner) Crowninshield. She died 12 July 1835, and he married on 17 March 1847, as his second wife, Eliza L. Pickman, baptized 23 April 1815, the daughter of Dudley L. and Catherine (Saunders) Pickman. She died 18 September 1853 at Salem. Mr. George G. Putnam described Mr. Rogers as an "erect and dignified gentleman, about six feet in height, of florid complexion, with hair and whiskers as white as the driven snow." Mr. and Mrs. Rogers lived at 204 Essex Street, in Salem, nearly opposite Derby Square. The interior finish of this beautiful home was designed by Salem's famous architect Samuel McIntire, although the building itself was probably by Bulfinch. This house was first occupied by Ezekiel Hersey Derby and after him by Benjamin W. Crowninshield, who sold it to Mr. Rogers, who resided there until his death 11 June 1873.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 220, II, 244, III, 266, VI, 191; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 106; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 5, 35, 41, 58, 141, 163, 176, 202; *History E. I. M. S.*, 59, 68, 69; Putnam, II, 133, III, 113, IV, 33, 40, 87, 91; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XIII (1859), 67; Information at the Peabody Museum.]

113. ANDREW MADISON ROPES, 1830-1913. Oil by unknown artist, circa 1865. Canvas 23½ in. x 18 in. Seated figure under life size, full face, dark hair and beard, dark clothes, right hand rests on thigh, left hand and arm on red covered table at right. M 1682.

*Deposited by the Salem Marine Society.*

Andrew Madison Ropes, formerly Andrew M. Lopez, shipmaster, was born at 9 Hardy Street, Salem, 1 December 1830. His father was Antonio Lopez, of Spanish extraction, at the time of his death second mate of the bark *Cavalier*, and his mother was Nancy Parker of Marblehead. His name was changed to Andrew Madison Ropes by an act of the legislature 10 March 1884, although he was so called for several years previously. At the age of eleven he enlisted on the U. S. S. *Columbus* as an apprentice boy and in 1842 was transferred to the U. S. S. *Ohio*. A short time after this his family removed him from the service and he worked at various trades and returned to school. His inherited love for the sea, however, was so strong that he shipped in the brig *Cecelia* of Salem for a voyage from Boston to Mauritius, St. Helena and Pernambuco. Soon after his return he again went to sea, this time in the ship *Lotus*, and later made two voyages in the *Emily Wilder* between Salem, Zanzibar, Aden and various ports on the east coast of Africa. Other voyages were in the barks *Elizabeth Hall*, *Magi* and *Thetis*, and in the ship *Polynesia* to Honolulu. By this time he had risen to the rank of second mate and shipped as such from Boston in the famous clipper ship *Ringleader* and afterwards on two voyages in the bark *Zotoff*. He served as mate and then commander of the ship *Raduga* and the bark *Kadosh* and was also master of the ship *Coringa*. He had doubled Cape Horn thirty-five times and the Cape of Good Hope sixteen times. About 1888 he retired from the sea to spend his last days in Salem, where in October 1911 he was elected to honorary membership in the Salem Marine Society. When the Cruiser *Salem* was in Salem Harbor, Commander Key and the other officers took much interest in Captain Ropes, who delighted them with his stories



of the old days at sea. His home for the greater part of his life was at 30 Essex Street in Salem. He died unmarried, at Salem 3 January 1913, and at this time was Salem's oldest shipmaster.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 115017; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 246, III, 613, V, 206; *Marblehead Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 379; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XXIV, 117; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 154; *Salem Evening News*, 3 January 1913; Salem Directories, 1869-1912; *Names Changed in Mass.*, (1780-1892), 259; Information at Peabody Museum.]

114. ANTOINE ROUX, 1765-1835. Wash drawing. Dimensions,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. x  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. Head and shoulders, profile, facing right, thick hair, white collar, dark coat and waistcoat. M 3143.

*Gift of Mrs. A. Olive Edwards, 1927.*

Joseph Ange Antoine Roux, marine artist, commonly known as Antoine Roux, was born at Marseilles in 1765, the son of Joseph Roux and Ursule Demolin, his wife. As a boy Antoine Roux was apprenticed to his father, who was a hydrographer with a shop on the quai, but devoted his spare time to sketching details of ships and of the port. Although largely self taught, his naturally keen observation led him to great eminence as a marine painter in water color, for his paintings of ships reproduce every detail with the greatest fidelity. He was the creator of the ship portrait in France, and was constantly employed by shipmasters in the port of Marseilles who wished to carry home pictures of their vessels. The finest water colors of Salem vessels owned by the Peabody Museum were executed at Marseilles by Antoine Roux, for he was as often employed by foreign as by French captains. The Museum also owns a number of his sketch books. Antoine Roux's three sons inherited much of his skill as a marine painter. He died of cholera at Marseilles in 1835.

[See Brès and Johnson, *Ships and Shipping painted by Antoine Roux*, 13-27.]



115. FRANÇOIS-GEOFFROY ROUX, 1811-1882. Wash drawing. Dimensions,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. x  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. Head and shoulders, profile, facing left. Black tie, dark clothes. M 3145.

*Gift of Mrs. A. Olive Edwards, 1927.*

François-Geoffroy Roux, the youngest son of Antoine Roux, was born at Marseilles in 1811, and the same talent which so distinguished his father was also in his blood. In common with his brothers he began life as a hydrographer, but delighted most of all in ship portraiture with a precision which approached perfection. In 1860 he relinquished the business of hydrography to his nephew and devoted himself completely to his art. The generous gift of many water colors of naval vessels to the Marine Museum of the Louvre won François Roux the title of painter to the Ministry of the Navy, the Legion of Honor and other distinctions. His home was alternately at Marseilles and at Paris and he died at the former city in 1882 in the midst of his own, his brothers' and his father's paintings, which he had collected and for which he bore a deep affection. Several of his paintings may be seen at the Peabody Museum.

[See Brès and Johnson, *Ships and Shipping painted by Antoine Roux*, 27-33.]

116. FRÉDÉRIC ROUX, 1805-1870. Wash drawing, 1863. Dimensions,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. x  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. Head and shoulders, profile facing right, aquiline nose, moustache, high white collar, black bow tie with flowing ends. Smooth white shirt front and dark coat. M 3144.

*Gift of Mrs. A. Olive Edwards, 1927.*

Frédéric Roux was born in 1805, the son of Antoine Roux, of Marseilles. Apprenticed as a hydrographer to his father, as were his brothers, he also inherited his father's extraordinary talent for ship portraiture. He left his birthplace when he was twenty years old and going to Paris, studied there with Horace Vernet. He also travelled through Russia and Norway, sketching as he went. In 1830 he set up a hydrographer's shop at Havre, but his taste for travel often led him far afield and his shop was largely left to others while he transferred to

his sketch book interesting vessels and views which he saw as he wandered through many countries. Some of these sketches are owned by the Peabody Museum. He died at Havre in January 1870.

[See Brès and Johnson, *Ships and Shipping painted by Antoine Roux*, 27-33.]

117. THOMAS RUEE, 1773-1813 or 1814. Oil by foreign artist. Canvas, 19¾ in. x 16 in. Head and shoulders, three-quarters to left, eyes front, brown hair brushed over forehead, ruddy complexion. High white collar, white stock and waistcoat. Blue coat and brass buttons, blue-gray background. M 389.

*Gift of Henry A. Ruee, 1884.*

Thomas Ruee, shipmaster, was born at Salem 12 July 1773, the son of Thomas and Susanna (Becket) Ruee. His grandfather Francis Ruee and wife Ann were among the one hundred French neutrals sent to Salem with those who were expatriated in 1755 from Arcadia. Ann Ruee was the last of these living in Salem. Captain Thomas Ruee married Mehitable Archer 18 November 1798. She was born 1 December 1773, the daughter of Jonathan Archer, Jr. and Mehitable (Kimball) Archer, and died at Salem 6 April 1856. Captain Ruee joined the East India Marine Society in March 1805. He was a successful sea captain, possessing great judgment in the selection of his cargoes. He sailed several times for William Gray to Sumatra in the pepper trade. In 1806, the *Two Sons*, a Crowninshield vessel of which he was master, was wrecked off the coast of France and the cargo of coffee, worth \$80,000, as well as the vessel, was destroyed. Captain Ruee, according to reliable family records, lost his own life at sea in 1813 or 1814.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 276, VI, 182; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 130; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 189; *History E. I. M. S.*, 57; Putnam, I, 22; Perley, II, 224; Bentley, *Diary*, I, 13, 162, II, 339, III, 238, 243, IV, 292, 361, 365, 491; Minot, *History of Massachusetts*, I (1798), 216-227; Manuscripts in possession of Walter H. Becket of Peabody.]

(To be continued)

## BOOK REVIEWS

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SALEM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By James Duncan Phillips. 1937. 526 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, \$4.00.

Mr. Phillips has multitudinous duties in fields other than historical research, but his latest book fully exemplifies the fact that it is often the most occupied people who accomplish the greatest amount of work. The author has done something that no one has ever undertaken before. Previous historians have given us annals, sketches and genealogies, the value of which are not to be minimized, and to which Mr. Phillips gives full acknowledgment. It has remained for this twentieth century writer to give us a narrative history of Salem, with much care for accuracy, and fully documented. The first half of the eighteenth century has always seemed a dull and drear period of Salem's corporate life, but in this book we discover much that is new and of great importance. His story of the part which Salem had in the government of the province, particularly in the French and Indian Wars; the pirates off the coast; church relations, and divisions; codfish commerce, and the crusade against Louisburg are historical facts which show the early importance of this town in all fields of activity. Chapters of especial interest are those which tell of the men of affairs in 1700; town life in the twenties and thirties; and the families which figured prominently in the social life of the town, in club, church and education at the half-century mark. Much of this information was obtained from old diaries which have been used most ingeniously to reflect the social life of the times. One of the most valuable features of the book is a map of the town in 1760, showing the original boundaries and the ancient names of localities, which was drawn by William W. K. Freeman, under Mr. Phillips' direction. His account of the town's resistance to Great Britain through the sixties and seventies is well and accurately told with many extracts from town records. Leslie's Retreat at the North Bridge is portrayed faithfully and with zest, and there is much valuable information in the chapters on privateering during the Revolution. As many of the important men of the town became Loyalists, there is an interesting chapter on those who stood by the King. In the final chapter, "Why the Town Grew and Succeeded," Mr. Phillips gives an

illuminating picture of New England industry, thrift and efficiency which this generation might well emulate, and his amusing flings at present-day methods of business and government practice provoke many a chuckle. One of the finest achievements is a map giving the location of every house in Salem in 1780. This is based on the researches of Sidney Perley and the accounts of Col. Benjamin Pickman and B. F. Browne, with additional information assembled by Mr. Phillips and drawn by Henry Noyes Otis. The book is profusely illustrated with portraits, documents and pictures of houses. Highly recommended to every library in the country.

WHEN I LIVED IN SALEM, 1822-1866. By Caroline Howard King. With a preface by Louisa L. Dresel. 1937. 222 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Daye Press. Price, \$2.50.

Seldom do persons in old age write so entertainingly of their youth as did Caroline King in this most interesting story of her life in Chestnut Street, Salem. While she never intended that her recollections, which were written for her young relatives, should appear in print, her grand-niece, Mrs. Dresel, the granddaughter of Ellis Gray Loring of Boston, who has edited the notes, feels sure that she would not hesitate today to share them with a wider circle of friends. We of Salem are greatly indebted to Mrs. Dresel for a delightful story of Salem's "golden age." "Kiddy" King was born in Salem in 1822 and lived here until about 1866. She was the daughter of John Glenn King, a distinguished member of the Essex bar. Upon the death of her parents she lived with a brother in Boston. After his death she returned to Salem, where she died in 1909. Such chapters as "Kiddy King Remembers," "Salem Merchants on the Seven Seas," "Salem Kitchens," "Our Brick House," "The Lord's Day," "Young Education," "Salem Gibralters," and "Ghost Stories of the North Shore" will induce the reader to dip into this fascinating volume. We predict that the book will hold the reader's attention to the end of the last page. The portrait of Miss King, used as a frontispiece, shows a face of more than ordinary beauty, and there is also a portrait of her friend, Lucy Saltonstall. There is so much of interest in the book and the price is so reasonable that it should certainly be a best seller in Salem. Recommended to all historical libraries.



YANKEE BOOKSELLER, Being the Reminiscences of Charles E. Goodspeed. With many illustrations. 1937. 325 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, \$3.75.

Goodspeed's Book Shop! For thirty-nine years, on Park Street, Ashburton Place, Milk Street and Beacon Street, this nationally famous bookman has attracted lovers of old and rare books. Starting in a small basement on Park Street with little capital, the business has grown to its present magnitude with more than forty persons now on the payroll. Mr. Goodspeed is a Yankee through and through. He was born seventy years ago, in Cotuit on the Cape, in which town his forebears had lived since 1639. This autobiography is filled with legends, anecdotes and odd characters of this fascinating by-path of literature. Mr. Goodspeed treats such subjects as book collectors and dealers, rare early American prints, book-buying celebrities, "points" of first editions, appraisals of famous collections, the romantic story of Poe's "Tamerlane," autographs, forgeries, auction sales and the author's recreations, as well as his life-long interest in Ruskin. Essex County is well represented in his description of odd and curious books. Included are the "works" of Rev. William Cook of Salem, whose life has been set forth by Lawrence Waters Jenkins, in a paper before the American Antiquarian Society; also of Timothy Dexter and Jonathan Plummer of Newburyport, whose eccentricities have been a popular theme for many years. As one finishes the last page of this entertaining volume, one cannot help marveling at the erudition which can be acquired by close contact with good books. Of course, every person interested in book collecting will be eager to purchase this new book, and it should be in every library in the country.

ANCESTRY OF SHARPLESS MOORE AND RACHEL (ROBERTS) MOORE. Compiled by their granddaughter, Blanche (Moore) Haines. 1937. 214 pp., octavo, cloth. Three Rivers, Michigan: Privately printed by the author. Price, \$5.00.

Dr. Haines has published a most interesting genealogy of the various ramifications of this particular Moore family, which will appeal strongly to their many descendants. The book has a generous collection of maps, charts, coats of arms and portraits. Allied families mentioned include many of



Deleware and Pennsylvania. The Moores were Quakers, as were many of their connections. Dr. Haines has traced many of the lines to families in the British Isles, and the descendants are to be found in many of the western states. There is much source material for genealogists.

CATHOLICISM IN NEW ENGLAND TO 1788. By Rev. Arthur J. Riley, A. M., of the Archdiocese of Boston. 1936. 479 pp., octavo, paper. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America.

Dr. Riley has presented an amazing amount of documentary proof of the Puritan opposition to Roman Catholics, which suggests the thought that his subject should have been "*Anti-Catholicism in New England*." According to his own statements there were so few of that faith up to the time of the American Revolution as to be negligible. Those of Irish and French extraction who did come to New England, from lack of church privileges, often were absorbed by the British Protestant population through intermarriages. The author has done a thorough job in research among old almanacs, catechisms, sermons, and other writings of the early Puritan fathers, and he has found evidence aplenty of the outspoken and vituperous excoiation of Roman Catholicism. However, he is to be commended for his fairness in the presentation. He wisely does not complain, but only states facts, as there is always much gunpowder concealed in this age-old discussion. The state of mind of the early settlers was largely fear that there might be a repetition of the horrors of the Inquisition, and other persecutions of Protestants in Europe. This book is to be commended for a thorough piece of research work.

SORROW BUILT A BRIDGE. A Daughter of Hawthorne. By Katherine Burton. 1937. 288 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Price, \$2.50.

Rose Hawthorne, daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, had an unusual career. Mrs. Burton claims that her inherited mysticism and humanitarianism led her into the Roman Catholic Church. This biography is interesting reading, but one feels that the author must be somewhat of a mystic herself to have divined, as she has, the discussions that took place in the Hawthorne family at various periods of their lives. The splendors of the cathedrals in Rome attracted the Hawthorne family, as they have many Americans, but it was left for

Alfred Chappell in New York to lead George and Rose Lathrop into the Catholic faith. After her estrangement from Lathrop, and his death later, Rose was absorbed in a private charity in the New York slums among incurable cancer victims. Her work was a noble sacrifice and the detailed account of her life there is the best part of the book.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL LORD THOMPSON OF KENNEBUNK, MAINE, AND THE SHIPS HE BUILT, 1811-1889. By Margaret Jefferds Thompson. With an Introduction by Lincoln Colcord. 1937. 140 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Charles E. Lauriat Co. Price, \$3.50.

This volume is Publication No. 1 of the Penobscot Marine Museum, Searsport, Maine, whose director, Mr. Colcord writes an interesting foreword. It is a commendable undertaking and it is perhaps the forerunner of other marine histories of the Maine coast, which section in the past has been quite neglected. Miss Thompson has compiled a very accurate and worthwhile volume from records left by her father and data obtained from interested friends. The chapters include a biographical sketch of Captain Thompson, notebook of Captain Thompson from 1830 to 1852; old shipyards at Kennebunk Landing; Kennebunk Lock; sketches of the voyages of the vessels; and a list of vessels built by Captain Thompson. There are many illustrations of vessels and portraits of the men engaged in building and sailing them. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

REVOLUTIONARY NEW HAMPSHIRE. An Account of the Social and Political Forces Underlying the Transition from Royal Province to American Commonwealth. By Richard Francis Upton. 1936. 276 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College Publications. Price, \$3.00.

The author of this painstaking thesis was the honored recipient of one of the Senior Fellowships at Dartmouth, and the result of his year of study is presented in a volume which has every earmark of authenticity and wide research. The subject was rather new, in fact, Professor Stevens in the Foreword, declares that, "Since the history of New Hampshire during the Revolutionary period has not been previously explored in any comprehensive fashion, it has been possible for the author to make a modest but very definite con-

tribution to our knowledge of one of the most significant periods of American history." Politics, privateering and the Continental Navy, as well as industry and the evolution of State government are ably treated. Recommended to all historical libraries.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE, ESQ. OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By H. A. S. Dearborn, 1816. Edited by James Barnes. 1931. 218 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Price, \$5.00.

The manuscript from which this book has been printed was written by Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, a friend and admirer of Commodore Bainbridge, commander of "Old Ironsides" and naval hero of the War of 1812. The manuscript was presented to the Commodore in 1816, but it was returned to Dearborn for corrections, and subsequently found its way into the hands of a descendant of the latter in New York City. Colonel Barnes, a descendant of Bainbridge, rescued it from oblivion. It is interesting to note that General Dearborn, the author of the "Life," was a resident of Salem, where he studied law in the office of Judge Joseph Story and later practiced here. His mother was a daughter of Col. John Osgood of Andover. There is much of interest in a "Life" written by an intimate friend and associate. Recommended to all libraries.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY. By William Wade Henshaw. Volume I. Containing every item of genealogical value found in all Records and Minutes of the Thirty-three oldest Monthly Meetings which belong, or ever belonged, to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. 1936. XV + 1185 pp., quarto, cloth. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc. Price, \$20.00.

The appearance of this first volume of Quaker Records is an event of major importance. It is the beginning of a series which will embrace the large and hitherto all but inaccessible Quaker vital records of the Colonial period in this country. The records of the Society of Friends are models of accuracy and beautiful chirography, and to have these assembled in proper form for printing has been the mammoth job of Mr. Henshaw of Washington, D. C. It is doubtless the greatest piece of genealogical work which has

been undertaken by one individual, without thought of financial returns, and genealogists owe a debt of gratitude to the author. With the records of each Monthly Meeting is printed a brief history of the organization. The index is compact and complete. The publishers have made an innovation in the production of technical books in small edition which are made to pay for themselves through the combination of the inexpensive printing process of photo-lithograph, and the result is satisfactory. Future volumes will contain records of Pennsylvania, New York and New England. Strongly recommended to all genealogical libraries and to all communities where there have been Quaker settlements.

GENERAL VON STEUBEN. By John McAuley Palmer. 1937. 434 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, \$4.00.

Baron von Steuben had a dramatic career, but he played an important part in the American Revolution. General von Steuben's life story is a curious tale of pretense and show, military efficiency and adaptability. One of his ancestors prepared a spurious genealogy giving the family titles where they did not belong; "Baron" was a pseudo title, and he was actually not a General but only a Captain in the army of Frederick the Great. He was discharged from the army and, penniless and unemployed, was picked up by Silas Deane and Franklin as a good prospect to assist the American forces. With all his showmanship, he proved to be a tremendous help in the discipline of the army. The author has spent many years in Germany and this country delving into old records and the result is that many new aspects of the war have been brought out. A book to be included in any authoritative collection on the American Revolution. Recommended to all libraries.

MINISTERIAL TRAINING IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. By Mary Latimer Gambrell, Ph. D. 1937. 169 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$2.50.

For a century after arrival in New England, Congregationalists maintained the standards of clerical education brought with them. Heresy hunting had proceeded in the new world as in the old, but for the most part Congregationalists seemed to keep free of disrupting controversy. Then



came the "Great Awakening," and it is from that period until the establishment of theological seminaries early in the nineteenth century that this book is concerned. The author describes how liberalism began to creep in, citing particularly the case of Edward Holyoke, whom the Overseers of Harvard refused to accept as President, until Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead said of him, "I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman and of too catholic a temper to cram his principles down another man's throat." Miss Gambrell gives an interesting account of divinity students at Harvard and Yale, the proportion in the various classes and the courses of study. Essex County figures quite conspicuously throughout the book. Graduate students intending to enter other professions than the ministry returned, as did N. W. Appleton "to receive nourishment from the Fountain Head" at Harvard, before studying medicine in Salem. Joseph Willard and Leonard Wood took additional courses; Timothy Pickering was advised to read Tillotson, whose famous attack on Rome was well known, but was warned against his heresies. Courses to fit men for the ministry were not of extended duration; but Rev. Samuel Spring of Newburyport is cited as having had three full years of preparation, an unusually long period, and of being more widely educated than most of his fellow clergymen. The founding of the Andover Theological Seminary, devoted solely to the training of the ministry, was the crowning achievement.

**THE QUEBEC ACT.** A Primary Cause of the American Revolution. By Charles H. Metzger, S. J. 1936. 223 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society.

The author of this dissertation on the Act which guaranteed the Catholics of Quebec freedom to practice their religion has collected a vast amount of evidence to prove that the reaction of the thirteen colonies to this Act was one of the causes of the Revolution. Fear entertained by the colonists was expressed in an engraving with the caption, "Protestants remember the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew and the burning of the Martyrs at Smithfield." Mr. Metzger asserts that the action of the British government in granting freedom to Quebec stirred the intolerance of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, but "to condemn the men and women of a century ago because they fail to measure up to the lib-



eral ideals and ideas of our own day would be as ridiculous as it would be unjust." Much research in colonial literature is shown in this book.

NOAH WEBSTER. *Pioneer of Learning*. By Ervin C. Shoemaker. 1936. 347 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$4.00.

Another Webster biography! This "schoolmaster of the Republic" made his greatest contribution to education in America through his publication of textbooks and through his successful efforts in behalf of the copyright laws. This book shows Webster's indomitable courage, his energy and perseverance which enabled him to carry through with patriotic fervor the many undertakings he projected. His labors in the field of science, journalism, law, history, economics, reform and lexicography are fully set forth. Recommended to all libraries.

THE JACKSONS AND THE LEES. *Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844*. 2 Vols. By Kenneth Wiggins Porter. Edited by N. S. B. Gras. 1937. 1625 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$10.00 set.

This documentary study of two generations of Massachusetts merchants was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Henry Lee Shattuck, a descendant of the Jacksons and Lees, who had in his possession much of the material used in the compilation of this unusual record of early New England trade. Mr. Shattuck assisted financially in the publication and Professor Gras edited the manuscript, as number three of the "Harvard Studies in Business History." These volumes picture the actual business of carrying on trade between New England and the Orient in our early national period. The numerous mercantile letters here reproduced show how Salem, Newburyport and Beverly, as well as Boston, were connected commercially and culturally with the rest of the world. The period of transition from commerce to manufactures is well covered. The chief actor in the life of trade was the sedentary merchant. Says Professor Gras: "He stood out in contrast to the older travelling merchant who as a virtual nomad could not accumulate any great amount of the world's goods. The counting-house was the sedentary merchant's office, his treasury, and his ship, all in

one. This term counting-house suggests the secret of his success—counting or accounting, in effect, management; and it is to be noted that management is a sedentary occupation. Of all the masterful figures in man's history, he stands out as the manager par excellence. Not he but his ships were on every sea. His agents were in many ports. His partners were kept working with him, though not always under his eye. The number of his employees was small, the number of his agents large." These volumes tell of the activities of not only the Jacksons of Newburyport and the Lees of Beverly, both later of Boston, but of the Tracys, Higginsons, Cabots, Bromfields and other Boston merchants, connected with them. The East India and Calcutta trade, the West Indies and Rio de Janeiro trades and the trade with Spain are especially featured. The illustrations include diagrams, genealogical charts, vessels, houses, and portraits of the merchants, and foreign ports from contemporary pictures. No better piece of work on a similar subject has ever been published and certainly none which covers so wide a field of business of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century New England. This book is strongly recommended to all interested to any degree in the business history of this country. It will be always a model for the study of early trade on sea and land, especially relating to Essex county and eastern Massachusetts.

JOHN LANGDON OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. By Lawrence Shaw Mayo. 1937. 303 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Concord, N. H.: The Rumford Press.

The Langdons of Portsmouth were an important family during the Revolution, not only in New England but in the affairs of the country at large. Writes Mr. Mayo: "If there were in all the American colonies in the 1760's a handsomer pair of brothers than Woodbury and John Langdon it would have been difficult to persuade the people of Portsmouth of the fact." Their father was an every-day New England farmer, living two miles out of town, who did not mingle with the aristocracy of Portsmouth, although their family ancestry was of the best. Woodbury became a merchant, and John, after a sea-faring life, took up the cause of the colonies against Great Britain, superintending the building of naval vessels, and acting as agent of prizes. He made a good thing out of privateering and emerged from the Revolution a rich man, like many another shipping merchant.

Mr. Mayo, in this delightful biography, follows his subject through his political career in New Hampshire and for twelve years in the United States Senate. He had taken part in framing the Federal Constitution. He became a Republican much opposed to the Federalist party, and a friend of Jefferson. Mr. Mayo has added considerably to the knowledge of New Hampshire activities during the Revolution.

JOHN PHOENIX, ESQ., THE VERITABLE SQUIBOB. A Life of Captain George H. Derby, U. S. A. By George R. Stewart. 1937. 242 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Price, \$2.50.

Capt. George H. Derby, *alias* John Phoenix, *alias* Squibob, perhaps means nothing to this generation, but to those who lived just before the Civil War, it meant wit and humor for the thousands. Derby was a great-grandson of Elias Hasket Derby. He was born in Dedham, graduated from West Point and became an engineer in the topographical Department of the Army, stationed for a long time on the Pacific coast in the early days of the gold fever. His natural wit, which found outlet in the early California newspapers as well as in the New York *Knickerbocker* and other eastern magazines and newspapers, brought him much fame but little money. Charles H. Poole, a native of Danvers, and Derby's roommate at West Point, was also associated with him in the capacity of secretary. Poole was an able cartoonist and they enjoyed together much fun-making. He was a brother of Fitch Poole of Danvers, whose witticisms were the talk of the times. This volume is a most interesting story of his life, with many extracts from his published book *Phoenixiana*, and his various newspaper contributions under the nom-de-plume of "Squibob." Derby died at the age of thirty-seven, most of his humorous work having been done in the West. His writings were praised by Thackeray. Howells wrote, "Before John Phoenix, there was scarcely any American humorist—not of the distinctly literary sort—with whom one could smile and keep one's self-respect." Theodore Roosevelt once said he "could pass a competitive examination on *Phoenixiana*." The book gives a bibliography of Derby's writings and a full index, with many illustrations of cartoons. A volume worth owning.



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MRS. ELIZABETH ORNE (PAINE) STURGIS (MRS. HENRY PARKMAN STURGIS)  
1826 - 1911

*From a portrait in possession of the Essex Institute*

# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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No. 2

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### RECOLLECTIONS OF THE "OLD TUCKER HOUSE," 28 CHESTNUT STREET, SALEM.

BY MRS. ELIZABETH ORNE (PAINE) STURGIS.

[The author of these "Recollections," which were written about 1900, was born in Boston in 1826, the daughter of Frederick W. and Anne Cushing (Sturgis) Paine. She married her cousin, Henry Parkman Sturgis, in 1851, and lived in Manila for several years, her husband being a member of the well-known mercantile house of Russell and Sturgis. He died in London in 1869, and she returned to Salem, where she died in 1911. This manuscript was formerly in the possession of the Misses Willson, daughters of Rev. Edmund B. Willson, who subsequently owned the Tucker house. This house is now the First Church parsonage, by bequest of Miss Alice B. Willson in 1936.]

#### I.

Mr. Ichabod Tucker<sup>1</sup> came to Salem from Haverhill, where he had been practising law, bringing his adopted daughter, Nancy D. Gay, who was quite a young child at the time, and his wife, whose maiden name was Mary Orne. With them also came the "help" (American women), as servants were styled in those days. Mr. Lev-erett Saltonstall, a law student of Mr. Tucker's, came at the same date, and for a time formed part of the household in Salem.

The "Tucker House" was built in 1804, and at that period was so far from the centre of the town, that Mr.

<sup>1</sup>Ichabod Tucker, born Leicester, April 17, 1765; Harvard, 1791; Clerk of the Courts, Essex County; president Essex Historical Society, Salem Athenaeum, member Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society; died Oct. 23, 1846.

Orne was very angry with his son-in-law for taking his daughter so far away. Mrs. Cole<sup>2</sup> has told me that when she had been "very good" she was allowed to sit in Mr. Saltonstall's lap on her return from school. She was always taken to school by the hired man in the wheelbarrow, if the day was unpleasant.

Mrs. Tucker died in this house, and in the course of time, Mr. Tucker married a second wife, Mrs. Joseph Cabot, an aunt, on the paternal side, of the present writer. Mrs. Cabot was the daughter of Dr. William Paine<sup>3</sup> and Lois Orne, his wife, of Worcester, and at the period of her marriage, was residing in Salem in a small house on Federal Street, or in its vicinity, with her two boys Joseph Sebastian and William Paine Cabot. Mr. Joseph Cabot, her husband, was a native of Salem, and when his mother's second marriage took place, the eldest son, Joseph, moved to his Grandmother Cabot's house, the grandmother being an aunt of Mrs. Joseph Cabot, and a sister of Mrs. Dr. Paine of Worcester, they both being daughters of Hon. Timothy Orne of Salem.

The youngest boy much against his will went with his mother, for neither of the young men were at all pleased at their mother's marriage with "Squire Tucker," as he was generally called, and I have heard Mrs. Cole say there was some difficulty in persuading this young man to enter the carriage in which the bridal party was to proceed to the house in Chestnut Street.

"Come now, William, come along and be a good boy," was the remark of the driver of the coach.

Mr. William Cabot,<sup>4</sup> as soon as he had control of his

<sup>2</sup> Nancy Gay married Thomas Cole in 1842.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Paine was of the distinguished Worcester family, born there June 5, 1750; Harvard, 1768; studied medicine with Dr. Holyoke of Salem; practised in Worcester until the Revolution, during which he joined the Loyalists; studied and practised in England; surgeon in British army in New York and Nova Scotia; returned to Salem in 1787 and to Worcester in 1793; remained a British subject until 1812; a founder of American Antiquarian Society, member of Essex Historical Society and other learned societies; died in Worcester in 1833. See Mrs. Sturgis's "Sketch of the Children of Dr. William Paine" in *Proceedings of Worcester Society of Antiquity*, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> William Paine Cabot (1799-1826); Harvard, 1818.



own movements, left Salem, and went to live with his grandfather in Worcester and there he remained until after the marriage of Frederick William Paine.<sup>5</sup> He then returned to Salem, where he died in early manhood.

The only remark I have heard of his making, was the following: "Grandpa and I love aristocracy."

When quite young, I used to visit at this house of Mr. Tucker's and I always knew him as "Uncle Tucker." In those days, the house stood endways to the street, and one entered a gate, and up a gravel walk to the front door, which opened into a small entry, on each side of which was a room. On the right side of the pathway was quite a lawn, on which stood trees and flowering shrubs. There was a broad stone step, from which you entered the door, which was always "on the latch," and on the door a brass knocker which was seldom used, and a brass door-handle. You entered, and a little to the right was a staircase. On the left of the entry was the "best parlor," which was only opened in the summer season, or if there was company. Two windows fronted on Chestnut Street, and two looked out on the lawn.

The fireplace was on the right-hand wall as you entered, looking west toward the Cabot garden. The carpet was a green ground, on which were bright-colored flowers, and on the walls hung two pictures of children, painted in China, now in the possession of Mrs. S. Endicott Peabody,<sup>6</sup> a grand-niece of Mrs. Tucker.

As was the fashion of the day, chairs, tables, and sofa, stood in formal array around the room. On the right-hand side of the front door was the sitting-room and dining-room combined. Beyond that was a china closet and then two kitchens, one leading out of the other. From the first, the back stairs led up to the room over it, and beyond the kitchens came a wood-house. The front stairs were easily ascended, for you went up only a few at a

<sup>5</sup> He married, May 5, 1822, Ann Cushing Sturgis, daughter of Hon. Russell Sturgis and Elizabeth Perkins, of Boston; resided in Worcester, where he became interested in literary and horticultural pursuits, and civic affairs; member of American Anti-quarian Society; died Worcester, Sept. 16, 1869.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Endicott Peabody married Marianne Cabot Lee, daughter John C. Lee, Nov. 28, 1848.

time, and then a landing, until you were at the top. The rooms upstairs were arranged as they were down; the one over the parlor was the guest-room, the one over the dining-room was at times occupied, but it was really only a passage-way, leading out to the back entry.

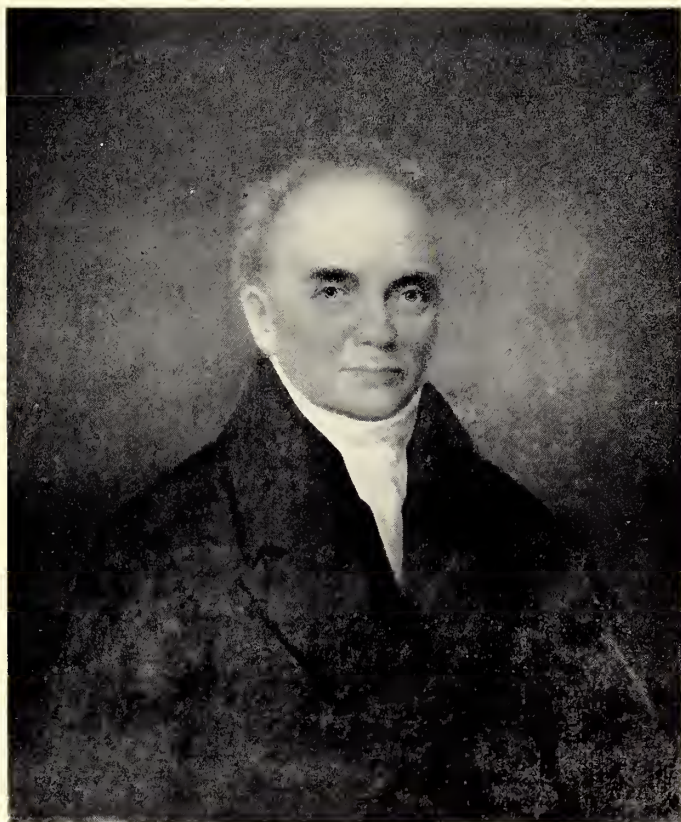
Over the kitchen was a large room occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Tucker. Miss Gay slept two flights up, over the dining-room, the front stairs leading to that story. At the end of the long entry, passing Mrs. Tucker's room, were two more rooms. All this part of the house from and including the dining-room and the rooms overhead is now as it was formerly, with the exception that one room has been added in the upper story.

Under the stairs in the front entry was a closet in which were kept preserves and other good things. Between the two rooms on the garden side, was a small room with the card table and a tall mahogany bookcase in which were kept Miss Gay's shells. There was also a door leading down into the cellar.

We entered the dining-room from the front entry, and on the left was a sideboard. The fireplace, extending out into the room quite a distance, was on the garden side having windows on each side of it. On the north side was a sofa, and in the northeast corner, a table. Two windows looked out on the front yard, and between them stood a dining table. The room was a very cheerful one, having both morning and afternoon sun. Chairs stood in the windows, and on the left of the fireplace was Mr. Tucker's armchair, and on the other side, a low rocking-chair, in which Mrs. Tucker always sat. The outside of the house was painted a dark grey color, with green blinds. The window panes were small and not of very good glass. There was nothing historical about this house, and it was of no particular interest, being only one of a fashion of which there are many in Salem.

## II.

It is with the dwellers in the house that we have to do, and we will, for the sake of designating myself, call the writer the "Little Visitor." I will assume that I have



ICHABOD TUCKER

1765 - 1846

From a portrait in possession of the Essex Institute



arrived the day before to visit my "Aunt Tucker" and I go down to breakfast the morning after my arrival. A bright wood fire is burning on the hearth, the "Squire" is in his chair, and Miss Gay is overseeing the "Little Help" as she brings in the breakfast. Presently Mrs. Tucker comes in from the kitchen, as is her daily habit, having come down the back stairs from her chamber. She takes her seat with her back to the sofa, the "Squire" opposite. Miss Gay sits with her back to the fire and the "Little Visitor" opposite her. A long-handled fork on the table attracts the latter's attention, and she soon learns that it is used for toasting bread by the wood fire; the memory of that dry toast is with her still, so different from the bread toasted over a coal fire. We all used the fork when we wished hot toast.

When Mrs. Tucker was married, as I have stated, her son Joseph went to live with his Grandmother Cabot. Her house was an old-fashioned building on Essex Street, the garden of the house running through to Chestnut Street. It is now the residence of Judge Endicott.<sup>7</sup> Originally, the land formed part of the Pickering Farm. At the period I refer to, Mrs. Cabot had died and Mr. Cabot lived with his aunt, Miss Rebecca Cabot, or, as she was generally called, "Cousin Becky." She and her nephew formed the household, not counting the parrot and Becky Scofield, who reigned in the kitchen. The garden of the Cabot house formed the land on the west side of the Tucker house which overlooked it, and a gateway was cut between the garden and the extreme point of the Tucker land so all the visiting between the two houses was done without going into the street.

Mrs. Tucker's kitchen family consisted of one woman and a young girl whom I will call the "Little Help." It was the custom in those days for young American girls to enter families to be initiated into the work of a house and it was not uncommon for them to remain for years or until they were married; and sometimes for their whole lives, identifying themselves with the family and sharing

<sup>7</sup> Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, Secretary of War in Cleveland's cabinet, who resided there until 1895.



all their joys and sorrows. They were taught all kinds of housework, together with sewing, reading, etc. The dress of these girls would not find favor in these days, for it was almost always supplied by their employers and consisted of a gown of stuff or calico, with a high-necked and long-sleeved tire which completed the costume. Their hair was cut short or parted neatly and put behind their ears. Bangs and fringes were unknown in those days and would not have been tolerated for a moment.

To go back to the breakfast table. The meal is hardly ended when the china-closet door opens. We hear the raising of the brass latch, and "Cousin Joe," otherwise Mr. Cabot, appears to make his usual morning call on his mother, he having come in the gateway and through the garden and kitchen, as was his every-day custom. He always sat in the corner of the sofa near the window and said very little, though he was always ready to answer Miss Gay or "Nancy," as he called her, when she addressed any pointed or personal remark to him with the same spirit which dictated her sayings. The "Little Help" is meantime bringing in the dish-tub of hot water with the small clothes-horse of towels, for Mrs. Tucker, as all good housewives of those days, did wash her own breakfast dishes, the "Little Help" standing at her left hand to assist.

This work is hardly begun when the front door opens and Mr. Leverett Saltonstall enters. He has come in, as is his usual custom, on his way down town to say "Good morning" to his friends. He is hardly seated, when Mr. Pickering Dodge makes his appearance, he, too, rarely failing to call in to see "Aunt Tucker" before taking his morning walk. On Sunday these two gentlemen did not come until the evening. The conversation becomes quite general, the washing of the dishes going on all the time, and the "Little Visitor" can now see in her mind's eye, Mrs. Tucker with towel in one hand and a piece of silver in the other, "laying down the law" to Mr. Dodge and saying, "Now, Pickering . . .," etc.

Mr. Cabot slips out while the talking is going on, and soon after the visitors have departed and Squire Tucker

takes off his dressing gown and slippers and he, too, leaves for his duties out of the house. The dish-tub has been carried away, the tablecloth has been carefully folded and put in the table drawer and the "Little Help" is busy with dustpan and brush taking up the crumbs from the carpet. Mrs. Tucker is making the mahogany table shine with, to use an old-time phrase, "plenty of elbow grease," so one can see one's face in it. That is moved between the windows, the room is carefully dusted by Mrs. Tucker, the hearth is swept up, fresh wood put on, and she goes upstairs to arrange her chamber and make her bed,—and her bed-making is a work of art!

This work finished, she puts on her other dress and another cap and descends, sewing in hand ready for the day. Her arrangements for the dinner had been made early in the day, the butcher with his covered cart having called while the family were at breakfast and there were always plenty of plum puddings, marlboro' and apple pies ready in the house, for the making of which Mrs. Tucker was famous.

She was soon in her rocking-chair and busy sewing, for she was making a set of shirts for the "Squire." She was noted for her beautiful needlework and anyone going to the Essex Institute may see there a lovely little old-time sampler worked by her more than a hundred years ago when she was Esther Orne Paine, which will attest to her skill with the needle when quite young.

The front door opens and Mrs. Rose<sup>8</sup> comes in to see her sister Esther on her way home from her friendly call on her daughter, Mrs. Lee. Mrs. Rose at this date lived in the upper part of Essex Street with her sister-in-law, Miss Rachel Rose, and her daughter Josephine, afterwards Mrs. Dr. G. Chandler<sup>9</sup> of Worcester. They had moved to Salem soon after the death of Dr. Paine, the father of Mrs. Rose, in order to be near their daughter, niece, and

<sup>8</sup> The daughters of Dr. William and Lois (Orne) Paine of Worcester were: Harriet (1779-1860), who married Joseph Warner Rose, British Consul at Antigua; Esther (1774-1854), who married Joseph Cabot, and second, Ichabod Tucker.

<sup>9</sup> Josephine Rose (1815-1866) married George Chandler, M. D., May 4, 1842.

sister, Harriet Lee.<sup>10</sup> The two sisters have hardly exchanged the greeting of the day when Sally Allen, (for we will designate these ladies by the names we heard them called), and Hannah Hodges enter. Miss Gay came down from her chamber where she too had been doing her morning work to see her friends and shortly after, Mrs. Pickering Dodge came in.

Mrs. Rose had disappeared when callers began to come. Mrs. Lee had been out making calls this morning and she too had stopped in for a moment on her way home. But here are more visitors, and Mary Foote<sup>11</sup> enters and with her a lady whom Mrs. Tucker and Miss Gay greet most cordially and call Eliza. She turned out to be Mrs. William Dwight,<sup>12</sup> a sister of Mrs. Foote, who had come on a short visit to her sister, and they had just come from their father's house, Judge White's, and could not pass "Aunt Tucker's" door without coming in to pay their respects. They were urged to remain to dinner, for while all these visitors were coming and going, the "Little Help" had been laying the table and bringing in the plates to warm before the fire on the hearth. They were obliged to decline, for Mr. Foote would be waiting for them at home. He was glad his sister-in-law had come down to Salem on a Wednesday, for that day was rather a leisure one for him, the *Gazette* having come out the day before.

On this day every week, the elder girls of Mrs. Lee, dined with their great-aunt, and now they have arrived, having come from Miss Ward's school, and soon we are at dinner. That meal finished, and Mrs. Tucker having washed the silver and glass at a side table, the room was once more quiet. The "Little Visitor" had gone to spend the afternoon with her cousins, and the Squire, again in his dressing-gown and slippers, was nodding over his book by the fireside. Mrs. Tucker too was soon taking a short nap, and the only sound heard in the room was the fall

<sup>10</sup> Harriet Paine Rose married John C. Lee of Salem, July 29, 1826.

<sup>11</sup> Wife of Caleb Foote, editor of the *Salem Gazette*. She was Mary Wilder White, daughter of Hon. Daniel Appleton White.

<sup>12</sup> Eliza A. White married William Dwight of Springfield, in 1830.



MRS. ESTHER ORNE (PAINE) TUCKER

Wife of Ichabod Tucker

1774 - 1854

From a miniature in possession of the Essex Institute





of the cinders on the hearth. Miss Gay had gone to her room where the "Little Help" soon joined her for the purpose of sewing her stint of patchwork and reading and spelling under that lady's supervision. This being finished, the child was sent out to play with others of her class in the neighborhood, and Miss Gay too went out.

Her first call was on her friend Mrs. Nat. Saltonstall, for she had heard she was not well. These two ladies had been friends from childhood and they were now near neighbors, for both Mr. Leverett and Mr. Nat. Saltonstall had married sisters, the Misses Sanders, and were living in the upper part of Chestnut Street in adjoining houses. The Pickmans, Saltonstalls and Sanders were "kith and kin" to each other, and Miss Gay had heard from her friend that a letter had come from young Dudley Pickman, who was then travelling in Egypt, so she, on her way down street, called to see Eliza Pickman to hear the last news from her brother, for the two families were very intimate and interested in each other's affairs. The letter was read to Miss Gay and she learned that Mr. Pickman had been able to procure a bone from a mummy upon which he placed much value, and an account of which he gave to the present writer in later years.

### III.

Miss Gay had not yet bought her winter dress, so she next called on Mr. Downing,<sup>13</sup> who had sent her word that his new goods from Boston would be there that day. Here she took some patterns which were discussed and commented on, for she was a believer in many counselors though she generally followed her own ideas, and the dress was finally decided on.

Nancy did much worsted work, in cross and single stitch, and now had a piece of work on hand called, "Moses in the Bulrushes." It was all finished except little Moses, whose form was still incorporate, for no worsted had as yet been found of a proper shade of baby flesh. But she

<sup>13</sup> Thomas D. Downing and Company, a dry goods establishment of much importance, at 173 Essex Street, founded before 1835, by T. D. and John W. Downing. In the 1850's it became Archer, Downing & Company.

looked in the shops again today and we feel sure she must have found it, for little Moses is still extant, his baby form of the proper shade or as near as it could be when his body was made of worsted.

Miss Gay, on her way home, stopped into the Lees, where she found Mrs. Tucker, who, after her nap was over, had also gone out and had made a call on her Aunt Clarke, who was Esther Orne, another daughter of Timothy Orne of Salem. Mrs. Tucker had been named for this lady who was now living in her old age with her daughter Harriet, Mrs. Judge Mack,<sup>14</sup> in Chestnut Street. Mrs. Clarke was the widow of the Rev. John Clarke,<sup>15</sup> one of the early ministers of the First Church in Boston, a noted divine in his day, who had died suddenly in the pulpit of that church. His house was in a pasture on the corner of Summer and Chauncy Streets, near the church on Chauncy Place. Mrs. Tucker, too, had called on Madam Phillips<sup>16</sup> before going across to John Lee's, where she had promised to call for the "Little Visitor," who had been enjoying herself with her cousins, to say nothing of Phillipses, Dodges, and Thompsons. Poor Mary Baker, the presiding genius of the nursery, had been driven almost wild with the noise of so many children. And here it may not be out of place to recall the little child, whom the writer so well remembers, whose favorite seat used to be on the floor in the long window in the south-west parlor of the Lee house. Her days on earth were very few, and preceding her parents by many years, she was ready to welcome them to the Heavenly Kingdom.

We all soon went home, but not before John and Harriet Lee had promised to come up for whist in the evening. We found on arriving home that the "Squire" was only then arousing himself from his slumbers, during which he had let the fire nearly out. The "Little Help" was called, and bringing wood from the box in the china closet she, with the help of Miss Gay, soon

<sup>14</sup> Elisha Mack married Harriet Clarke in 1820.

<sup>15</sup> He was son of Capt. John and Sarah (Pickering) Clarke of Portsmouth, N. H., and a nephew of Col. Timothy Pickering. He married Esther Orne (1758-1848.)

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth, widow of Capt. Stephen Phillips, and daughter of Nathan Peirce. She was Captain Phillips' second wife.

caused a bright and cheerful blaze on the hearth, round which we sat and enjoyed "Blindman's Holiday." Not that Mrs. Tucker was idle, for she had her knitting work, one of a pair of old socks she was making for the "Squire," and Miss Gay too was relating her adventures of the afternoon to her "Uncle" as she called him, to the accompaniment of the click of her knitting needles. The silver sheath from which she took those needles can now be seen in the Essex Institute, presented by the present writer, to whom it was given in later years by Miss Gay. The supper table was cleared, but the writer cannot refrain from mentioning the quince marmalade we had been eating and which always seemed to be a preserve peculiar to Salem.

John and Harriet soon arrived and the round mahogany table was brought from the little room. This table had been part of the bridal outfit of Miss Lois Orne when she left Salem, and after Dr. Paine's death it had been given to Mrs. Tucker by her brother Frederick of Worcester. This table may now be seen in the Essex Institute, where it was placed by the present writer, it having come into her possession after the death of her aunt, Mrs. Tucker, who had it from her cousin, Mr. Cabot.

Mrs. Tucker was very fond of whist, was a good player and expected everyone to pay attention to the game. Mrs. Tucker and her niece were partners, and Mr. Lee and Nancy Gay. Harriet knew her duty to her aunt too well to indulge in any frivolous conversation while they were at the table, but what shall we say of the other two players? They were the best of friends but rarely met without indulging in a mimic warfare during which each tried to say smart and sarcastic things to the other. They were outdoing themselves tonight and we remember that Miss Gay generally got the best of her opponent. They quoted Latin to each other, and the "Little Visitor" listened with great delight to their "quips and cranks." Finally Mrs. Tucker laid down her cards and said, "Now, John and Nancy, unless you can attend to the game, we had better stop playing." This rebuke silenced this giddy couple and the game proceeded with all due decorum until

the rubber being at an end, at half past nine, the visitors said "Good night," and left. The fire was raked up and the "Little Visitor" was sent to bed. Miss Gay attended to the locking up of the house, lights were put out, and by ten o'clock silence was brooding over the old house.

#### IV.

The foregoing is the record of one day, but, with the exception of Sundays, it was in its proceedings a sample of all days. Scarcely any of Mrs. Tucker's acquaintances passed the house without coming in and all received a cordial welcome.

Some days, Mrs. Tucker went out of a forenoon and then she took the "Little Visitor" with her. They went through the garden and called to see Cousin Becky Cabot, a cousin of the "Little Visitor's" father, and if it had been summer-time, would have met Cousin Joe Cabot,<sup>17</sup> admiring and caring for his flowers. He was learned in botanical lore, and was made President of the Horticultural Society in whose hall hangs his portrait. We enter at the garden door and here Mrs. Tucker calls her niece's attention in the hall, which is large and runs through the house, to the portraits of her ancestors which hang upon the walls.

"This lady," pointing to the picture of an old lady, a full or three-quarters length portrait, "was your great, great-grandmother. Her name was Lois Pickering before she married Timothy Orne. Here is your great-grandfather Timothy Orne, and his wife, your great-grandmother whose maiden name was Rebecca Tailor." The former wears the picturesque dress of the period — breeches, long stockings and knee-buckles. The lady is dressed in blue, her gown open at the neck and with elbow sleeves and on her head is a close linen cap, her hair being

<sup>17</sup> Hon. Joseph Sebastian Cabot (1796-1874), Harvard, 1815; merchant in East India trade; President Asiatic Bank, Harmony Grove Cemetery Corporation, and other Salem institutions; Mayor of Salem, 1845-1848; President Jackson appointed him commissioner of Neapolitan claims; married, 1843, Martha Stearns of Worcester; married, second, 1852, Susan Burley Howes of Salem.





THIS HOUSE FORMERLY CONSTITUTED THE FRONT PART OF 28 CHESTNUT STREET

Removed in 1846 to Warren Street

From the Lee Collection, Essex Institute





brushed from her face<sup>18</sup>. These portraits are full length; on each side of the door hang portraits of children. The one with the squirrel in her hands is Mrs. Pickman, as she was later but now Miss Orne, an aunt of Mrs. Tucker, sister of Mrs. Dr. Paine of Worcester and daughter of Timothy Orne. She was great-grandmother of the late Dr. George B. Loring. The tiny child on the other side of the door, a quaint looking little figure, dressed in a long white dress, open at the neck and with elbow sleeves, with a little white linen cap on her head and holding a rattle in her hand, is Lois Orne, afterwards Mrs. Dr. Paine, and grandmother of the "Little Visitor," and the only likeness of her extant. After the death of Mrs. Cabot, these pictures were given to Mrs. William G. Saltonstall, a great-granddaughter of Lois Orne, in whose house they now hang in Boston and little Lois Orne looks down from the wall on her great, great, great-grandchildren.<sup>19</sup>

We now enter Miss Cabot's side of the house, and find her with her parrot, a bird not so common then as it is now, and while her aunt and cousin are conversing, the "Little Visitor" is entertaining herself with hearing the parrot talk. Our visit ended here, we go out the front door and find ourselves in Essex Street, and soon after we call on Miss Plummer,<sup>20</sup> where the child sits up in the window-seat and listens to the conversation of the ladies, not finding Miss Plummer nearly so entertaining as the parrot she had just left. Our next call is on Dr. Brazer,<sup>21</sup> who is second cousin to the "Little Visitor's" father, and here we saw the lady by the name of Allen, of whom the story is told, that on the day when one of the Brazer twins had sailed on a long voyage and the family were in consequence feeling rather sad, remarked, "Where will he put up tonight?" The "Little Visitor"

<sup>18</sup> Copies in oil of these three portraits are in the Essex Institute portrait gallery.

<sup>19</sup> Now owned by Robert Saltonstall.

<sup>20</sup> Miss Caroline Plummer (1780-1854), who gave Plummer Hall for the library of the Salem Athenaeum built in 1857. She lived at 372 Essex Street.

<sup>21</sup> Rev. John Brazer, D. D. (1789-1846), pastor of the North Church. He married, 1821, Anne Seaver of Worcester.

looked with interest at Mrs. Brazer, for she had been an early love of her father's, but she preferred Dr. Brazer for a life-long companion. From here we went home, stopping on the way to buy some "Gibraltars," a species of confectionery peculiar to Salem.

Another day, the "Little Visitor" went with her Aunt to drive with Madame Saunders, and she for the first time saw the sea and the beaches at Swampscott, through which town they drove. There was very little variety in the lives of these good people but they made them full of interest in a quiet way, with their friends and relatives, and their own surroundings, doing what good they could, in the position in which God had placed them. They were thoughtful for their relatives less well off than they were, and with moderate means charitable to the poor around them. Each year found a large number of poor people eating a good Thanksgiving dinner provided by these generous ladies.

## V.

Sunday in the Tucker House was a quiet day. The family, including the two servants, went to church or "meeting," as it was called in those days, in the morning, and rested in the afternoon. The "help" in those days were Yankee born and generally of the Methodist or Baptist persuasion. The "Little Help" went with her employers and attended the Sunday School. There was a cold dinner on that day as far as the meat was concerned and thus the day indeed became a day of rest to the workers in the house. Miss Lee came always to dinner on Sundays and Mr. Lee came to tea and on the table we remember there was "brewis"<sup>22</sup> made of pilot bread, a dish peculiar to Salem, with scorched salt fish and either damson preserve or quince marmalade, to say nothing of the gingerbread made by Mrs. Tucker herself.

In the evening there was a large gathering of friends and neighbors. The Lee and Rose families with any guests they might have were always present and sometimes Mr. Cabot came in. Also Judge White, Mr.

<sup>22</sup> Brewis was also made of brown bread and milk.

Frank Peabody, Mr. Caleb Foote, Mr. Pickering Dodge, and Mr. Leverett Saltonstall were almost always present. There was no ringing of door-bells, they all came in unannounced and after greeting their host and hostess, joined the circle round the fireside. There was generally some local topic of conversation in which they all could join and all the "pros and cons" of it were discussed from all points of view. Mrs. Tucker was not a talker, but Miss Gay was always ready to bear her testimony to the best of her belief to what she considered the right side of the matter in hand. The "White Murder" in its time had been thoroughly thrashed out.

The "will" of a rich man in Salem had not met with the approval of the community, for it was felt he had not been just to the family of a son who had pre-deceased him and this wrong afforded ample food for discussion. But if there was no particular subject on hand at the moment to be inquired into, there were always points of doctrine to be discussed and examined, and here the "Squire" was in his element. He was great authority on doctrinal points, quite a well-read theologian and always ready to bear his testimonies and "to beat the drum ecclesiastic," with no uncertain sound in support of his belief. At about this time the North Church was undergoing repairs and as they progressed they became a prolific source of conversation. Mr. Lee and Mr. Peabody, the principal people connected with the arrangements, were questioned closely by Miss Gay as "to the why and wherefore of all the improvements." But the climax came when the spandrels were put up on the ends of which were carved little figures which formed a proper and fitting ornament in the church.

There was a great discussion over and about those carvings and a variety of opinion was expressed as to their fitness for a church edifice or rather for a "Meeting House." The present writer never in after-life failed to look up at those figures when she entered the building, though in her mind's eye she saw the bright wood fire and those who surrounded it, now with one exception, all passed away. The little figures are still there keeping

"watch and ward" and after more than half a century still looking down on the vacant seats of those who formerly worshipped in the Old North Church.

At nine o'clock the "Little Help" brought in the waiter, always the custom on Sunday evenings, containing apples, nuts and cake, with a decanter of wine. By half past nine the company began to break up and soon they had all left. Miss Gay removed the waiter, for the "Little Help" had been sent to bed; she must be up betimes the next day, for was not Monday an important day in all New England houses! The arrangements for the night were made and soon after all were at rest in the old house.

## VI.

Here is the story of a "Salem Tea Party" of about 1835. Miss Margaret Emery,<sup>23</sup> or as she was usually called "Aunt Peggy," to distinguish her from her niece "Little Peggy," who lived in Springfield, was some kin to the "Squire's" first wife, Mary Orne, and also a friend of the present Mrs. Tucker, and thus she continued her long winter visits after the death of the former. She was here this winter as usual and had received many attentions and invitations to tea, in some of which the "Little Visitor" had been included. The child was pleased with the beautiful old glass, china and silver she saw at the Misses Derby's house in South Salem when she went there with her aunt on one of these occasions. She had also been to Mrs. Nat. Saltonstall's to tea and sat at that lady's left hand.

It was, therefore, considered fitting and proper that a tea party should take place in honor of Miss Emery before she left, for she was only waiting now to hear of some escort to return to her home in Exeter. The day being fixed upon, which was Thursday, for then the washing and ironing would be out of the way, with one day

<sup>23</sup> Margaret Emery (1772-1862), daughter Noah and Joanna (Perryman) Emery of Exeter, N. H. Her father was prominent in New Hampshire affairs during and after the Revolution. Her sister Theresa married Dr. Joseph Orne, Harvard, 1765, one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Dr. Orne's daughter Maria, by a former wife, married Ichabod Tucker of Salem.







NANCY D. GAY (MRS. THOMAS COLE)  
1795 - 1890



THOMAS COLE  
1779 - 1852

From a portrait in possession of the Essex Institute

between to make preparations for so important an event, the next steps were to arrange what guests were to be invited. It was finally settled that the following named friends should be bidden to the feast: Madam Sanders, Mr. and Mrs. Pickering Dodge, Judge and Mrs. Mack, the Misses Derby, Judge and Mrs. White, Dr. and Mrs. Brazer, Mrs. Dr. Pickman, Miss Love Pickman and her brother William.

Miss Gay invited by word of mouth those in the immediate vicinity, and the "Little Help" was sent, after most minute instructions, to the other houses, except to that of the Misses Derby, and to them she wrote a note. The guests were asked a week beforehand so the "Little Help" had several afternoons in which to do her part of the work. After she was dressed in her Sunday best she was allowed to depart on her mission, but not until she had gone through a rehearsal of her instructions.

"Now what are you going to say to Mrs. White when you see her?" inquired Miss Gay.

"I am going to say, 'Mrs. Tucker sends her compliments and will be glad to see you at tea on Thursday afternoon and she hopes Judge White can come in the evening.'"

This answer being satisfactory, the child was allowed to depart and we feel sure she performed her duty well, for all the guests came as they had promised, since the "Little Help" had been instructed to bring back the exact answers that were given her.

The great day drew near, and the day before, the Orne silver tea set, which had come from Lois Orne to her daughter, Mrs. Tucker, was taken out and cleaned. The best blue Canton china was taken down and dusted, a set which had been brought home by one of the Exeter Gilmans, in one of his many voyages from China. This china is now in the possession of John C. Lee. The best damask tablecloth was brought forth and a general air of something of importance about to take place pervaded the house. An extra help had been engaged for the occasion, one who was skilled in the making of cake, who was to

come early in the day so it might be underway as soon after breakfast as possible.

The eventful day had arrived, the parlor and guest chamber were opened and a fire lighted in the former, so it should be warm before the arrival of the ladies. The room was now well dusted by Mrs. Tucker and she also put the candles in the plated candlesticks, some of which had been lent by Mrs. Rose and Mrs. Lee for the party. Mrs. Tucker had learned by former experience not to trust to oil lamps when she had company. They would burn perfectly for weeks when the family were alone, but with the natural depravity of inanimate things, so sure as they were required for an especial occasion, it seemed as if evil spirits possessed them. They went out, they smoked, the oil ran over and there was no conceivable wickedness that oil lamps did not indulge in when it was important they should be on their best behavior.

On this day dinner was an hour earlier than usual, so Miss Gay with the help of the girl would lay the table herself. By half past two o'clock everything was in order. The cake had turned out well and was now cut and on the table, and indeed everything was in readiness except those dishes that were to come hot from the kitchen at the last moment. The "Little Help" had been well drilled as to what she was to do, and as to her deportment, and finally the ladies retired to rest and dress.

By half past four the guests began to arrive in cloaks or pelisses, with melon-shaped hoods, which they could put on over their caps, if caps they wore, and large fur muffs. They were ushered upstairs by the "Little Help," and as they appeared in the parlor, I noted they wore rich satins and brocades of sombre hue with black silk mitts on their hands, in which many bore their knitting work, the needles encased in silver sheathes or in some of less valuable material.

I find I have neglected to mention one of the guests, Miss Mary Orne Pickering,<sup>24</sup> a valued and intimate friend of the family. Her father and mother were dear friends

<sup>24</sup> Daughter John and Mary H. White Pickering. See Silbee's *A Half Century in Salem*, page 104.

and kinsfolk of Mrs. Tucker's and their daughter was near to her for their sake as well as for her own.

The conversation was very lively, for as all the ladies were friends, in this small community the interests and affairs of each other were of mutual importance to all. Soon after half past five, Miss Gay was called out by the "Little Help" and as six o'clock was approaching, the child returned and reported to Mrs. Tucker that tea was ready. Her guests were invited to proceed to the dining-room, where Miss Gay and Mrs. Tucker were awaiting them and they soon were seated at the bountifully spread table under the superintendence of the former. The "Little Visitor" had been put at the side table where it was customary to put children when there was company, though she was not forgotten by her aunt who saw that she had her full share of the good things going. Indeed the whole day had been a gala one to the child, for she had watched the cake-making in the kitchen with great delight and a small cake baked especially for her had caused great happiness. Mrs. Tucker poured the tea and coffee, neither of which had come from any shop. At this time there was a large trade between Salem and China, and when his ships loaded with tea came home, Mr. Pickman,<sup>25</sup> the elder, never failed to send to his opposite neighbor a box of the choicest quality. Mrs. Tucker had a brother, William Fitz Paine,<sup>26</sup> who resided in the island of Java, and whom she had not seen for many years. But he had not forgotten his kinsfolk, and whenever a Salem vessel was loading for home, he rarely failed to entrust to the Captain two bags of the choicest "Java berry" to be given to his sisters, Esther and Harriet. But from the aroma which filled the room, I judged this coffee to be Mocha, which has a stronger flavor than that of Java, and this it proved to be. I can't recall who sent Mrs. Tucker this particular coffee but doubtless one of the Derbys or Silsbees, for when their ships came in from the Arabian Coast, small bags of the choicest Mocha

<sup>25</sup> Dudley Leavitt Pickman (1779-1846), eminent shipping merchant with the Silsbees and Stones, lived in the brick house, corner Chestnut and Pickering Streets.

<sup>26</sup> William F. Paine (1783-1834) died unmarried at Batavia.



were generally sent to their friends by some of these merchant princes. The "Little Help" stood at Mrs. Tucker's left hand, dressed in her Sunday gown and over it a clean blue and white checked tire, and carried the cups of tea and coffee to the ladies, while they passed to each other the good things on the table.

I feel sure my readers will be glad to hear what was on the table. In front of Mrs. Tucker's waiter was a silver basket of the richest plum cake which was made from a receipt of one of the Exeter Gilman's and a copy of which the present writer has. A little farther down were plates of crullers, a very refined kind of doughnut, and cheese cakes, standing opposite to each other, and next to them, one on each side, came cut-glass dishes of preserves, one of damson, not made of the modern plum which bears that name, but of a very small fruit of delicious flavor and lovely color, and of which there were formerly several trees in the "Squire's" garden. The other dish had quince jelly, of most delicate quality and clear as crystal. In front of the "Squire" was a firecake, baked before a wood fire and split and buttered when very hot. Possibly those who ate it saw visions in the night, but it was well to risk even ghosts for the sake of such delicious compound. On the right of this was a plate of buttered toast, and on the left one of delicate hot biscuit just from the oven, while in the middle of the table stood a plate of cold bread for the benefit of those unfortunate people who did not dare to indulge in the dainties before them. The plates of butter were placed opposite each other from the top and bottom of the table.

Mrs. Tucker was famous for her teas and certainly her reputation could not be called in question after this display of the culinary art. Beside each plate was a very small glass one, which in these days would be taken for either butter or sauce plates, but in those days people considered it the proper thing to pour their tea into their saucers and drink it if they saw fit, and these plates were to rest the cup in while they were so employed.





LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

1783 - 1845

## VII.

While the party are eating their supper, we will relate a little incident which occurred to the writer at a later date and of which she has been reminded by the mention of Mocha coffee and the coast of Arabia.

Many years after this tea party, the "Little Visitor" was on the way to China, and when the steamer on which she was travelling stopped at Aden, a port in the Red Sea, for a few hours, she went on shore to dine at the hotel, so-called, a great caravansary, where she found herself surrounded by a motley group of Chinese, Malays, Lascars, Arabs, Parsees, Hindus, and Mohammedans, to say nothing of the natives of the place — wild-looking savages, with no particular clothes on, their hair bright red and standing up in points all over their heads. They were simple people, however, and only intent on selling their ostrich eggs and other home products.

But in this strange throng, there sat an unmistakable Yankee, quietly and serenely rocking to and fro in a wooden rocking chair! I entered into conversation with him and on expressing my surprise at finding such a piece of furniture in that place, he said as he rose and offered me his seat, "I am a Salem man, and I have just come from there with a cargo of rocking chairs," and nodding his head over to the Arabian Coast, he added, "I sell lots of them to the Arabs."

Doubtless, when he returned bound for Salem, he sailed with a cargo of coffee.

The ladies have now nearly finished their supper, a portion of which I have neglected to mention and that is "Hard Gingerbread," made from a receipt of Mrs. Judge Smith's of Exeter. It was rolled out thin as a wafer and very rich in quality. The old receipt is now before me, copied from the original and I see "very nice" is written against it.

Mrs. Tucker has been complimented on her cake; receipts were asked for and promised and finally the party return to the fire in the parlor, where the "Little Help" has preceded them to add more wood to the fire, so when they entered the room they were welcomed by a most

delightful blaze. The "Little Help" has done her best, and Miss Gay, who remains behind the guests to warn the help in the kitchen to exercise great care in washing the china, and to see that the remains of the feast have been properly disposed of, after a due portion having been sent to the kitchen, expressed to the child her satisfaction in her behavior at this critical time.

Miss Gay soon enters the parlor and almost directly the gentlemen begin to arrive. Dr. Brazer enters, a most clerical looking man, followed by Judge Mack and Mr. Colman<sup>27</sup> and his son-in-law, Pickering Dodge. John Pickering, brother to Mary, makes his bow and soon after a little dapper gentleman with snow-white hair is greeting Mrs. Tucker with old-time courtesy. He is Mr. William Pickman,<sup>28</sup> a gentleman of the old school.

Now enters Judge White, and with him a gentleman who is received with great cordiality by both Mrs. Tucker and Miss Gay. They call him "William" and it is very evident he is an unexpected guest, for Mrs. White advances to greet him. It turns out that Mr. William Dwight arrived very unexpectedly to see his father-in-law, after Mrs. White had left the house, and hearing the Judge was going to "Squire" Tucker's he announced his intention of going with him, for he knew he would be more than welcome to his old friends. John and Harriet Lee had come for the evening, and all those who wished soon settled at the whist tables, while the remainder of the party entered into conversation with each other. Mr. Dwight had been in Springfield lately, and he was able to tell Miss Gay the latest news of her friends there, little Peggy Emery, the Peabodys, Howards, and Dwights.

Mrs. Brazer now had an opportunity to tell Mrs. Tucker she had been in Worcester recently, making a visit to her sister, Mrs. Penelope Sever Lincoln, the wife of the Governor of the Commonwealth, and had met while there, Frederick and Nancy Paine, Charlotte Bradish and others of their kindred in the town. Mrs. Tucker was at one

<sup>27</sup> Rev. Henry Colman, pastor Barton Square Church, 1825-1832.

<sup>28</sup> William Pickman (1774-1857), merchant of Boston and Salem, son of Benjamin and Mary (Toppa) Pickman.



time anything but a friend of the Lincoln family, for when her father, Dr. Paine, was obliged to leave his native town on account of his political opinions, Governor Lincoln, of that day, an ardent patriot, had proposed putting her out to service — "The Tory Doctor's Daughter" he called her.

At nine o'clock, the "Little Help" appeared and Miss Gay left the room, soon re-appearing, however, followed by the child bearing a waiter on which were whips in tall glasses, made of preserved strawberry on the top of which was whipped cream. There were also custards made with almonds according to the Lyman receipts, and very rich; cake and wine followed, the latter had been sent to Mrs. Tucker by her father, Dr. Paine, who had large quantities of Madeira in his house at Worcester.

One would have supposed that after such a hearty supper, the guests could hardly have done justice to these good things, but they evidently felt that "in for a penny, in for a pound" was the law tonight, and it was not very long before all the party were hard at work.

It was now after half past nine and the party began to break up. The ladies bade Mrs. Tucker "Good night," all expressing to her the pleasure they had derived from her hospitality. To Miss Emery they regretted her early departure and hoped they should see her early again in Salem another season. Then they went upstairs, put on their cloaks, hoods, and carpet moccasins, and soon after most of the guests had left. Mrs. Sanders' maid was waiting for her in the entry, but Mr. Lee insisted on giving her his arm across the street to her house. A carriage had come for the Misses Derby and also one for Mrs. White, but as the night was fine though very cold, both the Judge and Mr. Dwight elected to walk home. Dr. and Mrs. Brazer wended their way to Federal Street, while Mr. Pickman took under his protection, his sister and his sister-in-law who lived near to each other in Essex Street.

Mrs. Dr. Pickman<sup>29</sup> found her daughter, Mary Top-

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Thomas Pickman (1773-1817), Harvard, 1791, son of Benjamin and Mary (Toppan) Pickman, married, second, Sophia, daughter Hon. Joseph Pearse Palmer of Boston.

pan, waiting up for her, but she had not been alone through the evening, for Dr. George B. Loring had been making her a call; a good-looking young physician, who afterwards became her husband. In later years the present writer took tea with them out at the "Old Pickman Farm." Dr. Loring was kin to this lady as well as to the "Little Visitor," for his great-grandmother was sister of Mrs. Dr. Paine of Worcester.

While our friends have been walking home, the house has been put in order for the night, the "Squire" has gone up to his room, and Miss Emery soon follows, after stopping a few moments to discuss the party with her friends.

This lady always slept in the chamber over the dining-room, now called the library, and being of a sociable turn of mind, was rather pleased than otherwise at the constant passing through of the household, and was always glad to enter into conversation as she lay between the sheets. The ladies of the house soon followed her example, and soon after all were sleeping "the sleep of the just," in spite of the fire-cake and other sleep-disturbing viands.

### VIII.

Soon after this date a letter came from Exeter to Miss Emery from Dr. Abbot,<sup>30</sup> in which he told her that on such a date he was to leave Boston, where he was soon to go on a visit and if his coming would not incommode his friends, he would pass a day and a night with them in the coming week and escort her to Exeter on the following day. Dr. Abbot was the father of John Emery Abbot, a former pastor of the North Church, and a very dear friend to Mrs. Tucker and Miss Gay. So his coming was hailed with delight.

On the day appointed, the stage was at the door, in which two seats had been bespoken. The hair trunk with the brass nails, and the bandbox had been placed on top with the Doctor's carpet bag. The driver was becoming impatient, for the days were short and the way was long,

<sup>30</sup> Rev. Benjamin Abbot (1762-1849), principal of Phillips Academy, Exeter. His son, Rev. John Emery Abbot (1793-1819), was in Salem, 1815-1819.



No. 28 CHESTNUT STREET  
Built in 1804



and he had the mail to pick up and the other passengers, when Miss Emery and the Doctor appeared coming down the walk. She had been somewhat delayed parting with her friends, a parting with regret on both sides and hopes expressed that Mrs. Tucker and Nancy would come to the "Ark," as Miss Emery's house was called, the following summer.

The stage rumbled off, and soon the passengers were speeding on their way, and by noon stopped to dine in Newburyport. They noticed as they passed the house of "Lord Timothy Dexter" the life-sized figures over the portico. Passing on through Portsmouth, these good people, who had beguiled the time in pleasant converse, varied by short naps, found themselves at home by the latter part of the afternoon, very glad to have finished their long and wearisome journey.

There was one feature of the Tucker house which we must not forget to mention and that was the coming and going of the ministers of the Unitarian persuasion.

John Emery Abbot, the at one time minister of the North Church, had for a portion of his pastorate, if not all of it, made his home at "Squire" Tucker's. In this way the ministers initiated the custom of making this house their headquarters as they came to exchange with the minister of the North Church, and after Mr. Abbot's death, the custom continued. I have no doubt, without casting any reflection on the hospitality of Mrs. Brazer, that she with her large family and small means, was only too glad to be relieved of the care of the ministers over Sunday.

Dr. Channing and Mr. Buckminster of Brattle Street, Boston, without doubt had been there and spent a Sunday in the old house. Later, among others, came Dr. Walker and his wife, both most intimate friends of the household and whose visits as to length were only limited by their own wishes.

Dr. Edward Hall of Providence, whose imposing appearance in the pulpit and eloquent sermons some of us can recall, had been there, as had Dr. Ezra Gannett, in whose morbid nature was a streak of humor, which when it was in the ascendant, made him a delightful companion,

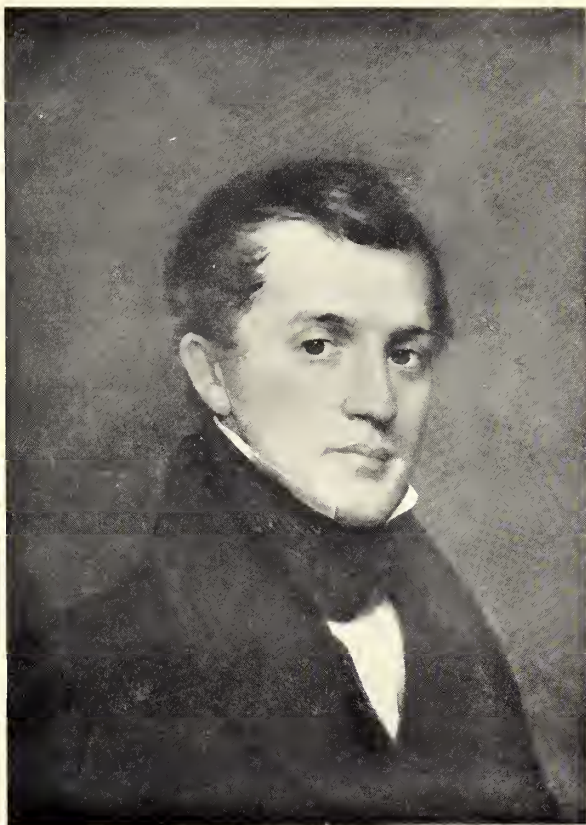


and Dr. Ephraim Peabody of the King's Chapel, who had married Miss Derby, a Salem lady. Dr. Francis Parkman, a man so minute in stature that he might well have been given the title of a modern novel, "The Little Minister," too, was there. He had on one occasion on rising in the pulpit with his head hardly reaching above the cushions, began his reading from the scriptures with "Lo, it is I, be not afraid." Thus a shadow of a smile passed over the faces of the congregation, though their heads were immediately bowed devoutly in prayer as they listened to his eloquent supplications to the Almighty. He was full of wit and humor, and many stories of his amusing and quaint sayings are still handed down among his family connections.

Then there was "Saintly Henry Ware," as he was called, and later his son, in whose veins was too much of the turbulent "Waterhouse" blood for him to inherit his father's title, and finally good Dr. Peabody, the only one of this group of ministers who outlived the household and who so recently has gone to his reward.

With few exceptions these ministers passed their Sundays with the "Squire" and his family and were often persuaded to remain into the week for they brought much that was bright to the old house. The Minister told the "Squire" and his family what was the latest news in the religious world, what was going on at Harvard College and the Divinity School, in which he was much interested, and they would discuss the articles in the last *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner*. To Mrs. Tucker, the minister from Boston brought news of her friends, Judge Prescott, Judge Putnam and Mr. John Pickering and their families, who were pioneers of the great exodus of Salem people which later took place from the "Old Witch City" to Boston.

Miss Gay could learn from the minister what was the attitude of the Boston clergymen towards Theodore Parker and other iconoclasts of the day; what was thought of Emerson's lectures, which the eminent jurist Jeremiah Mason said he "could not understand but his daughters did"; what Bronson Alcott and Margaret Fuller were do-



JOHN CLARKE LEE

1804 - 1877



ing; and what progress Garrison and Phillips were making in their anti-slavery crusade. We have no doubt that before the minister left the house Miss Gay had heard the last innocent piece of gossip then circulating among her friends in the city.

Those of this generation can hardly realize how little people of sixty years ago, and living in the country, had to interest them outside of their family affairs, and how dependent they were upon those who came from the centre of interest, the city, bringing with them a whiff of the outer world. Those who now go often up to Boston with as little thought and as much ease as they would call on their next-door neighbor cannot understand how the stage-coach journey to the city, so long and wearisome compared to what it is now, was not to be taken lightly or unadvisedly, unless something of importance called one from home. Mr. Ray, the old stage driver, was as expeditious as he could be, considering the constant stoppages on the way, to take up and set down passengers. The late Dudley Pickman has told the present writer that he never enjoyed himself more than when he sat on the coach box (as a boy) and listened to Mr. Ray's stagecoach experiences on the way to Boston.

There were no public libraries in those days, nor book clubs, but there was the Salem Athenaeum, in which most of the merchant families held memberships. Twelve and one-half cents to pay for a letter made people think twice before they mailed one unless it contained matter of importance. Many letters were sent by private hands, and in those days a letter *was* a letter, every available space covered with writing. There were no envelopes, and the ends were open for public inspection to those who were inclined to avail themselves of the opportunity.

In referring to the privileges of those days, we must not neglect to mention the Lyceum lectures which were given once a week in almost every New England town of any size. In this way people were able to see and hear some of the best-known men of the day. The lecturers generally remained the night at some of the private houses and Ralph Waldo Emerson and other well-known

literary men were often to be met at the Tucker House. So one can understand, after reading the foregoing, how the "Prophet's Chamber" in the old house was always "kept swept and garnished" and the minister was warmly welcomed when he came and parted from with regret.

## IX.

Rarely a year passed during which the "Little Visitor" did not visit her aunt, though she was little no longer, but as years passed, she came to Salem to go to parties and balls. The balls were in Hamilton Hall, where she saw many handsome women, both old and young, all beautifully dressed, the former in their grandmother's old brocades. The Hall is still standing, and in it dancing still goes on, but the occupants of the floor are the grandchildren of those who once footed it so bravely in the dance.

Many changes had come to the old house by this time. The "Squire" after a long illness and in good old age had been gathered to his fathers, leaving a name behind him much respected in the town. Miss Gay was no longer "Miss Gay," but had become Mrs. Thomas Cole, having married a gentleman whose school she had attended in her young days.

Mr. Cole was a well-bred, mild-mannered man, with scientific tastes and much addicted to the use of the microscope, and a pleasant companion withal. With his coming, there came much sunshine into the old house. But we must call it the old house no longer, for it had renewed its youth, and now stood with its front to the street, challenging all who passed to admire it in all its new-born beauty.<sup>31</sup> The door was now no longer "on the latch" but a modern bell announced our coming, and we entered a vestibule and then a hall which ran through to the back of the house, a door leading from it into the yard and garden.

As we entered, we saw in front of us a modern staircase which went up two flights, though the old one lingered for a time in the background. On the right hand

<sup>31</sup> Remodelled in 1846.



of the door was a drawing-room, built on the former lawn, and particularly belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Cole. Over that was their bedroom, and over that was the guest chamber. On the left side of the door, we entered the old "best parlor" through a door where formerly was a window looking out on the lawn. This room was called "Aunt's Parlor" and was considered to belong to Mrs. Tucker. Over that was her bedroom and over that Mr. Cole's private room, where he enjoyed himself with his books and his microscope and where he was always glad to see the young people of the house.

Mrs. Tucker still occupied her low chair on the right-hand side of the fireplace, though coal burned in a grate at times instead of the old wood fire, and domestic felicity was, to use the words of another, enjoyed "around a hole in the carpet," otherwise the register of the furnace. A long window had been cut on the right side of the fireplace down to the floor, thus giving a sunny and pleasant view of the Cabot garden from the room.

From the old dining-room and including it, the remainder of the house was as it used to be formerly and yet some changes were here. The heat from the furnace now entered this room and unless in the late spring and early autumn when a few sticks of wood smouldered on the hearth, there was no longer a wood fire to be seen. Mrs. Cole was now the housekeeper and the "Little Help" had vanished; an older woman reigned in her stead, who washed the breakfast things elsewhere than in the dining-room. The morning visits had ceased, except those of Mrs. Cabot, and all was new and strange.

The improvements were all for the best and doubtless the house was more convenient and the household machinery went on much easier, but it was not the same as in the old days and the writer in after-life never felt at home except in the old dining-room. People continued to come of a Sunday evening, but we missed the "Squire" and those who had followed in his footsteps. We had all grown older and though life went on as usual in the family with perhaps more variety in it than formerly, the manners, customs, and fashions of the old days had passed

away except the hospitality of the old house which was still a prominent feature of it. Still people came and went all day long and all were urged to "break bread" with the family so long as they could.

Some years passed now, for the writer was out of the country, without her making her usual Salem visit, but when she returned, she found many changes there. The low chair by the fireside was vacant, for Mrs. Tucker had gone to join the "Squire" and Mr. Cole, that kindly Christian gentleman, had answered to the sudden summons of the Master. His wife was all alone in the house which had indeed been made desolate to her and there was no one who could come to her and fill the places of those who were gone.

Mrs. Cole had been so early in life removed from her own family that by the force of education, her surroundings and living among people of entirely different thoughts and feelings, she was a stranger among her kindred and had nothing in common with them. She never forgot her obligations to those of her own blood and her purse and heart were always open to their needs, while the few of her relatives who sought her out at times never left with empty hands. However, they were nothing to her from a social point of view. She had been singularly fortunate in both of her uncle's marriages, for by the first she had been thrown into a large circle of cultivated people in Springfield, Salem and Exeter whose social position was good. In the last named town she had met and made the acquaintance of Dr. Abbot, where she visited many of the noted men of the day who had formerly been pupils at the Academy and who often in after-life came to call on their old Preceptor. In Springfield, she made acquaintance of the Emerys, Dwights, Howards, and Peabodys with whom she always kept up pleasant relations.

By the second marriage, she became surrounded by a large circle of people whose social position was the best in the country, both in Salem and Boston, and among whom she formed lifelong friendships. She entered a large family circle, by whom she was made to feel that she was kith and kin to them and among whom she found those



CALEB FOOTE  
1803 -1894

Courtesy of Henry Wilder Foote



who became very near and dear to her during her long life. During the twenty years ensuing the death of Mr. Cole, she continued to live alone in the house, except when guests were with her, which was often the case.

But now the facilities for travelling were much increased and rarely a year passed when "Cousin Nancy," as we all called her, was not in Worcester or Exeter, on a visit to her friends or often going to Cambridge or Jamaica Plain, and frequently to Boston for a day, thus keeping up her relations with her old friends. In summertime, her house was a favorite resort for her acquaintances who were living in the vicinity of Salem, while she, too, often spent days with them at their seashore homes. At this time, too, a source of great happiness to her was opened in the second marriage of Mr. Cabot, who now no longer lived in the old "Cabot House," but had moved with his household goods and the family portraits over to Chestnut Street to the house formerly occupied by Mr. Stephen C. Phillips.

From this time forth both Mrs. Cabot and her sister were unwearied in their devotion to Mrs. Cole and being blessed with kind hearts and ample means were able to contribute by pleasant attentions and appropriate gifts to her comfort so long as she lived, always welcoming her at their home as if she were one of themselves. Mr. Cabot now made his calls in the front of the house, coming at no stated periods, but never neglecting to pay his respects from time to time to his old friend.

## X.

At the end of these years, Mrs. Cole began to feel the need of companionship in her house and as household cares weighed heavily upon her, she with a wise forethought made a pleasant arrangement, in consequence of which she was soon surrounded by a family and relieved of all domestic cares. Another decade of her life now began and in it she met with two great sorrows.

Mr. Cabot, after a rather prolonged illness passed away and "John Lee," as she always called him, was suddenly taken from her. The former she had been intimate with



since they were both young people, and he had been in affection the only brother she had ever known, though he was no blood relation, and she felt the breaking of this tie keenly. The latter she had counted on to be her "staff and stay," as indeed he had always been, in her old age and for a time her grief at this unexpected loss was great. Most all the friends of her youth had passed away and not infrequently she followed their children to their last resting places.

But she kept up an interest in all those who were left, and there was never a wedding among her young friends when she was not present, if time and place allowed; the birth of their children was a source of interest to her, while pleasant words and substantial gifts were often sent on both occasions. Her interest, too, in charitable work still continued and her purse and heart were always open to public and private needs and when the never-failing "Thanksgiving Festival" came around, it found her busy as ever with the long list of those who were to feast at her expense. The Sunday evening gathering was now a thing of the past, and indeed there was no one to come, for Mrs. Lee was unable from her infirmities to be present, and most all of those who used to sit around the old fireside had passed away.

Mrs. Cole spent the evening with her former guest, and with her the few of her relatives and friends who were left, and at the weekly gathering of the "Lee Family" she was rarely absent. When Sunday came she was almost always in her pew in the North Church, and though she could hear very little if anything of the sermon, she liked to be among her acquaintances; she could read the hymns and enjoyed walking home with her friends.

She rarely went from home now, but she enjoyed her daily drives, and in summer went for a day to see her friends. With no severe illness and no suffering, and only confined to her room for a few months, she having lived to the great age of more than four score years and ten (95 years), surrounded by those who had faithfully and affectionately administered to her in her declining

years, this aged woman quietly and peacefully entered into the presence of her Maker.<sup>32</sup>

With her death my story ends, which without pretending to be accurate in detail, gives a faithful picture of life in the home of those who are now all departed. But we cannot close finally without alluding to that aged man who, perhaps for his own sake and partly for that of his wife Mary, who had been very much beloved by the ladies of the "Tucker Household," rarely failed for more than forty years, and so long as she could receive him, from making a semi-weekly call on his old friend. For more than three score years, they had been companions and friends, and how many memories must those two aged people have had with which no outsider could have part or share. With the passing away of Caleb Foote, there is no one left on earth of that circle of friends, who in the old days sat round the fireside in the "Old Tucker House."

<sup>32</sup> She died January 13, 1890.

DIARY OF WILLIAM WIDGER OF MARBLE-  
HEAD, KEPT AT MILL PRISON, ENGLAND,  
1781.

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(Concluded from Volume LXXIV, page 48.)

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*Tuesday 2d October 1781.* Fair Weather 75th Reigimt. Mounted Guard, they came from ye Baracks at Dock—This Morng. as the Dead Man was to be Carried out for burial Mr. Alexander Tindill intended to remove him & go out in the Coffin but had not time to Effect it otherwise he would have made his Escape, We recd. an answer to our Petition from the Board of Commissioners Who have granted lieve for Minester to come to us on Sundays, and if a person runs a way & is taken, he's to be put in the Black hole on  $\frac{1}{3}$  allowance, they will not build a Shed in the Yard, & Say the prison must hold 300 Men recd. our Money—This afternoon the following Men Committed 20 in Number Marques of Morbeck Cutter out of Dunkirk tak'n 9th Sept. 1781 Capt. Bennet Nagers Lieut. Moses Burnham,—Ipswich Lieut. Danl. Prayer—Danl. Willet, Newbury,—Ephraim Clark,—Barwick, Aaron Gooden, Do Patrick Miller, Portsmouth,—Thomas Smith,—Spanish River,—David Brooks,—Stradford—Thoms. Wile—Mashfield,—Jono. Harmon—Philedelphia, Timothy Killy—Boston,—Clement Church—Boston Thoms. Tangle or Quin,—Franklens priz tak'n 1st. May 1781 part Crew Committed—vizt. Thoms. Lee—Marblehead,—Benja. Grant—Ipswich

Tak'n South Carolina June James Vessells,—James Kendley, S. Carolina, Jno. Cuningham belongg. to Ship Lion Phillip Caril—Boston taken in a French Cutter.

*Wednesday 3d Octr. 1781* Fair Weather, Lester militia Mounted Guard, We hear that Count De Grass is arrived at America & that Genl. Washington has besieged New York.

*Thursday 4d Octor. 1781* Fair Weather, Oxford militia Mounted Guard, We hear by yesterdays paper that the Kings of Prussia Sweeden & Denmark have a greed that North & South america Shall have their Independence,

his Majesty & Lord North Seems to incline, in hopes to Make Spain & the House of Bourbon Suffer by it &c,—General Washington is augmented with 70 pieces of Cannon from the France, Tis reported and In the English prints that Genl. Washington army Consists of 32835 Men.

*Friday 5th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather, South Gloucester Melitia mounted Guard from the Barracks at Dock.—the Prison Fumagated this mornng.

*Saturday 6th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather North Gloucester Melitia mounted Guard.

*Sunday 7th October 1781* Fair Weather East Devon melitia mounted Guard, We hear there is Some to be exchanged from this place, and those that petitioned, their is 6 americans Sent in a Flage from Fortun prison to France last Week.

*Monday 8th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather South Deven Melitia mounted Guard,—we hear by a Letter from Fortun prison that their is 450 Americans in that prison, We are 406 in Number in this prison & it is very Healthy among us

*Tuesday 9th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather, Darby Shire Melitia mounted Guard, from Dock Barracks,—This afternoon Capt. Gideon Henfield recd. a Letter from the Revd. Mr. Wran of Portsmouth which Mentions, his receiving a Letter from Mr. William Hodgson (No. 17 Coleman Street London) informing him that he was Negotiating his Henfields—Exchange for a Man Now Prisoner in America,—Likewise that Capt. Manley and about 65 more from Mill prison would be Shortly Exchanged, This afternoon 6 Americans—Committed to prison Belongg. to the alliance Cutter of Dunkirk taken 5th June 1781 vizt. Robert Corbett, — Wilmington, John Clarkson, — Providence R. I. Robert Browning Rhode Island Thoms. Burn, — Irland James Murry, Do William Cunningham, Boston —Engling

*Wednesday 10th 1781* Fair Weather Shropshire Melitia mounted Guard—Yesterday Recd. our Money the London Gazitte Gives Acct. of Lord Conwallis being Defeated in Virginia and oblig'd to retreat to James Island under

cov'r of his Ships his Lost is Considerable Genl. Washington with in 13 miles of York Another paper Says Conwallis is in Hampton Road in Camp Mr. Cowdey Come into ye yard to Examin for Cloath'g & Went out directly again.

*Thursday 11th the Octobr. 1781* Cloudy & Small Rain 50th the Regmt. mounted Gard. We hear that Conwallis lost 300 Men in action with Genl. Wayne, whose party Consisted of 800 men.

*Friday 12th Octobr. 1781* Cloudy 75th the Regt. Mounted Guard from dock Barracks Last Evening Several of our people began to make a Breach in the wall but the Sentinals, on the out Side heard them, the Turnkey & Soldiers came in and found their Tools & took them away We hear that two of our Frigates are taken Loaded with amunition

*Saturday 13th Octobr. 1781* Cloudy Lester Melitia mounted Guard.

*Sunday 14th Octobr. 1781* Over Cast, 75 Regt. Mounted Guard, Capt. Manley Reed. a Letter from Mr. Hodgson Who writs he'd recd. no Answer from Doctr. Franklin the men that was to be Sent to France from Portsmouth was not Gone Last Week,

*Monday 15th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather South Glos-ter melitia mounted Guard.

*Tuesday 16th Octobr. 1781* Cloudy North Gloster Melitia mounted Guard P.M. Fair Weather Mr. Cowdry & the Doctor Examined us for Cloathing

*Wednesday 17th Octobr* Fair Weather East Deven melitia mounted Gard Last Evening a Houl was discover'd in the officers Ward this mornng. — Was detected in Stealing potatoes our peopel took him & hung them round his Neck and made an Example of him in the Yard one of our Men lost 2 Crowns & a pr. Shoes Last Night & found them in Thomas White Hammock White Denied takeing them Fredk. Blanckard belongg. to Carolina was Examin'd and found Guilty Sentenc'd to Stand on a Stool in ye yard 20 minutes faceing the 4 points of Compas Vizt. N S E & W with Shous round his Neck and to Say he was the Thief Afterwards to be taken to ye Lamp



poust & receive 6 Strokes on the Naked back with the Shous the Whole was perform'd among a Crowd of Spectators yesterday the following men Went on Board man of War Vizt. Heman Snow Cape Cod Simon Lambert Do Alexandr. Mc Lain Boston Do Willim. Miller Do Do Mr. Cowdrey Agent Demanded 4 men to go into the Black hole for diging in ye Officers Ward the following men was given up Vizt. Nathl. Warner John Longworthy Edwd. Porter and John Allen who are to receive 3 pence P Day During their Stay in ye Confind Hole this Afternoon 11 Americans Committed belongg. to ye following Vessels—Brig Gen Messer taken 17the Deer. 1780 John Clark Cape ann Jacob Tarr Do John Burton Do

Ship Frankling priz taken may 1st 1781 David Bigsbey Middleton Saml. Hutchings—Malden Thoms. Emerson Reding Isacc Setchel Ipswich John Orrock Marblehead Saml. Pearson Ipswich—

Brig New Adventure prize taken June 1781—

George Armon, alias Jona. Woods of Boston belongg. to the Ship Genl. Mifflin taken 1781 at Charlston Carolina—We are Agreeable informed that Conwallis & his Army are Captur'd in the Chesepeak the above News we had from the Officer of the Gard Some of us are in daily Expectation of being Exchang'd this Day reced. our money

*Thursday 18th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather South Deven melitia mounted Guard From ye London Gazette Oer. 14the a Letter from America to the Government of Brittain Says the French Fleet Consistg. of 25 Sail came into the Cheasepeak & the English Was 19 Sail. they had a battle, in which the English was fourced to burn a 74 not Being able to get hur off With them, they went to New York, the french Landed 10:000 Men in Rear of Conwallis & tis Supposed he is a prisoner, —Glorious News,—

*Friday 19the Octor. 1781* Fair Weather Darby Shire melitia mounted Guard from Dock last Night Aron Tuffts of Mistick Died in the Hospital this day the Officers had a Dinner in their Ward. on hearing the News of the Defeat of the English in America, this Afternoon Willim. Cuninghame went out with the Tubs when they had got

to the mills overset it and went off but was pursued taken and Confined in the Black hoole—

*Saturday 20th October. 1781* Fair Weather Shropshire militia mounted Guard this Afternoon 16 Americans Committed to prison belonging to the Brig Black Prince taken 11th October 1781 Vizt. Isaac Collins Cape ann Nichl. Girler Marblehead John Smith—Ireland Joseph Brown, Salem Saml. Knapp, Salem John Backer—Beverly Edwd. Duff—Derry Thoms. Sheppard Baltimore John Davies N. York Henry Lewis N York Joseph Nichols—Danl. Russell Nichl. Field, Thoms. Boyland—James Levell, Richd. Smith the above Brig was risen & Carried in to France

*Sunday 21th October 1781* Fair Weather East Devon militia mounted Guard.

*Monday 22th October. 1781* Fair Weather 50th Regiment mounted Guard We are informed the Battle in ye Cheasepek between the French Fleet and English was on the 5th Sept.—

*Tuesday 23th October. 1781* Fair Weather 75th Rgimt. mounted Guard form Dock Barricks Bloody Pictin the officer of the Guard to Day from the Lond'n Gazatte dated 10th Octobr. We are informed the English lost in Chesapeake killed 90 Wounded &c 236 — and that Genl. Greene & Lord Rawdon had had a Battle in august in Which Rawdon was forc'd to quit the Field with the lost of 500 Kill'd & wounded, We are informed that Lord Rawdon is taken prisoner in a packet from Carolina, and Carried to Boston. Mr. Cowdry &c— Minister who is to dispence the Word of God among us on Sunday Come to See us this four noon— We are in Number in this prison 434 americans

*Wednesday 24th October. 1781* Fair Weather Lester militia mounted Guard this mornng. 4 americans Enter'd on board a man War Vizt. James Proctor—Boston John Howser Pensilvania John Clarkson Providence Thoms. Burn Ireland.—there is a News Paper Quarrel between adm. Rodney and Genl. Vaughn Concerng. Eustatia the public have them in their picture Shops drawn at a Dice Table Gambling for a pair of Dutch Sleeve buttons which

they had plunder'd at Statia Rodney throes the Dice & Cries 6 & 4 a good have by God there is Great Talks of makeing peace With America

*Thursday 25th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather, Oxford melitia mounted Guard this day being George 3d Accession to the throne the Forts display'd their Colours & fir'd at one of clock Mr. Cowdry hoisted St. Georges Jack at the Gate & fir'd Several Swivels P.M. 3 men Enter'd on board a man War Vizt. Fredk. Blankard of Carolina Robt. Corbott Wilmington James Murrey Irland

*Friday 26th Octobr. 1781* Cloudy, South Gloster melitia mounted Guard from Dock

*Saturday 27th Octobr. 1781* Cloudy North Gloster mounted Guard this morning John Good discovered a Hole we had Just began to digg in our prison—Yesterdays paper Gives an Acct. of Government Sending 5000 Troops to America, with 6 Sail of the Line as Soon as Adml. Darby Arrives—They are very Anxious to hear from Lord Conwallis and South Carolina.

*Sunday 28th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather East Devon melitia mounted Guard this Afternoon the Revd. Mr. Gills Deliver'd a Discourse to us from 16 Chapt. St. Mark's Gospel & 15 Verse— and he Saith unto them go yea into all the World and preach the Gospel to every Creature Shew'd Christs Commission to his Apostels, and what the preaching of the Gospel was and the Comforts that are to be received from the Word of God and the fulness their is in Christ the readiness to Save Sinners Our people beheaved a Decent manner after Service was out He return'd us thanks Mr. Cowdey was polite and let the people out of the Black hole Saturday 27th Inst. Six americans Committed belong to the following Vessels Vizt. Brig Black Prince Capt. Edwd. M'Carty Dunkirk Charles Collins Cape Ann Isaac Bunker Nantokett John Smith Wilminton taken in ye Ship Genl. Washington Thoms. Hyllard Virginia taken in ye Ship Protector John Adams Boston we hear that the French have Captur'd the English Fleat with troops from Ye West Indies bound to America & Carried them into the Cheasepeak there was 2 British Regt. the French are reinforced with

3000 from Rhode Island & Conwallis Surrounded this for the Chronicle

*Monday 29th Octobr. 1781* Fair Weather South Devon Shire militia mounted Guard

*Tuesday 30th Octobr 1781* Fair Weather 50th Regiment Mounted Guard the 50th Regiment moved into Dock Barracks Yesterday Samuel Knap of Salem, who Enter'd on board the Eaco Sloop of War last Winter, and Deserted her was taken in the Black Princess and Committed to this prison was this morning taken out by a file of Mariens and Carried a way—prisoner to be tried, by order of ye Board Admltry, our Number encreases daily, we are 432 now and Expect two Hundred more from Ireland every day Capt. Mc Carty (Black princess as I'm informed) brought a Number of prisoners into France, & applied to D——r F——n for a prison to keep them in on his (Capt. Mc Carty) Expences Was order'd to Give them up to the French Agent and they went for French Men So we have been Served ever sence the War by the Negligence of our people.

*Wednesday 31th Octor. 1781* Fair Weather Oxford militia mounted Guard,—this day a flying report prevailed among us in the Yard Concerning the Exchange of some men for those Set on Shore by the pilgrim it was as followes Vizt. part was to be taken from this prison & part from portsmouth but we Cant find ye truth of ye Story.

*Thursday 1th Novmbr. 1781* Fair Weather South Gloster militia mounted Guard from Dock Barracks we hear the Oxford militia goes home to Winter Quarters Next Week

*Friday 2th Novr. 1781* Windy & flying Clouds East Devon militia mounted Guard this morning the Agent Order'd the market from the Gates Shutt because our people had lost a broom This afternoon I Recd. a Letter Wife was well and my children 3th June last

*Saturday 3d. Novr. 1781* Fair Weather 50 Regt. Mounted Guard from Dock Barracks Yesterday Mr. Green Recd. a Letter from home Mr. Thomas Took up a Letter which was Directed to Mr. Thomas Martin who



Died here 27th the Septr. Last it was from his Wife.—We are informed that on the arrival of Adml. Digby in America, the Fleet under his Command and Adml. Graves's joined and went to the Chesepeak With an intent to draw the French Fleet out to Give Conwallis an oppertunity to make his Escape, however the French Fleet was determin'd to remain as thay ware at Ancker the English Fleet came in and their was a Severe Battle in Which both Fleet Suffer'd gratly the English Say they Lost 2 forty Gun Ships and was oblig'd to retire and lieve the French masters of the Cheasepeak they likewise Say Conwallis is driven to the Waters edge and the american Army before him & the French fleet behind him so their is no possability of his Escape

*Sunday 4th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather 75th Reg mounted Guard, from Dock Barracks this Afternoon the Revd. Mr. ——— preached a Sermon to us from 26 Chapt. Acts later part of the 16 & 17 Verses the peopel behaved very politley Mr. Crowdey & Several Gentlemen Attended Likewise Capt. Jas. Maloon formerly of Boston who informed us that Lord Conwallis was Captured with his Army & that the French Fleet had taken 4 frigates in the Last Action with the English a frigate Sloop of War and a 2 Decker went in to the Amoarze & Several large Ships in the offing Supposed to be the Grand Fleet this is the Secent Sunday we have been favor'd With a person to preach the Gospel here

*Monday 5th Novr. 1781* Cloudy South Gloster melitia mounted Guard from Dock Barracks the wind blew very hard last Night and a Great Quantity of rain fell

*Tuesday 6th Novr. 1781* Cloudy & Windy. North Gloster Melitia mounted Guard from Plymth. Quarters Last Night as our people was diging under the Wall of the prison the earth brok in and discovered there light the Centinal on the out Side alarmed the Guard, they came in and found the hole, a Serjt. had his Sword broke and Scabbord cut up by our people one of ye officers Servents being with ye Soldiers in the prison used high Words and thratned to knock us down, one of our people took a Stone and threw at him which brok his leg—Mr. Cowdry has



Debar'd us from the priveledge of the Market today and Demands 2 Men for Diging the hole, and one for throwing the Stone at the Servent, and Says when the Black hole is full he will put us in Iorns on board the Guard Ship, and everyone that detected in digging Shall be put back on the List and Lose his turn in the Cartiel, This after noon Mr. Wm. Hartley was in the Yard (one of the parlimt. & a friend to america) who informed Capt. Green that as soon as Parliament mett they would take the american prisoners into Consideration, and he was informed by Lord North before he left London that we Should be Sent to america in the Spring, and that they (Ministry) were not Willing to Give America their Independence, but wished to Make peace with them, the aforesaid News I Cant a vouch for truth

*Wednesday 7 Novr. 1781* Flying Clouds Some rain East Devon Shire Melitia Mounted Guard this mornng. the following men went into ye Black hole Vizt. Morris Conner Mr. Hawley & Wm. Mathews for digging a hole & throwing a Stone at the Officers Servt. After which the market was open'd as Usual We are inform'd by a Letter from Mr. Franch that they have a Number privateers out now and hope to have prisoners So as to Exchang us and that Doctr. Franklin supply us with money & that Mr. Thoms. Diggs had Wronged us out of 400 Guineas And that a Number of 500 prisoners had been Set on Shoar & Rec'pts taken but was doubtfull whether her Ministry would allow them Exchangable We are likewise informed that Lord Conwallis finding he could not Embarke and go out of the Chesepeak drew his Transports up and burnt them then Surrender'd himself and Armeý—

*Thursday 8th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 50th Regiment Mounted Guard from Dock, This afternoon Mr. Cowdry found a hole our people had been Digging in the Black hole & took away their Beding, The Strong Beer Debar'd us by reason of one Man's Geting Drunk however the Agent let us have it again before 2 oClock

*Friday 9th Novr. 1781* Cloudy & durty Weather South Gloster Melitia mounted Guard from Dock Last Night Capt. Nathl. Nazro was put in the Black hole,— From

the Exeter Journal an acct. of Trecherous Arnold destroying New London, but dont hear much of Conwallis, it is Said that the Americans have Sued for peace, and their proposials are lik'd by ye Minestry Tis likewise Said that Genl. Washington is gone to Join Lefayette & Wayne.

*Saturday 10th Nov. 1781* Cloudy Weather, East Deven Melitia mounted Guard from Dock, This Morning Mr. Green, Mr. White and Capt. Kemp went out with the tubs in order to git Some Brandy, which they purchased with the Serjts. Consent and when they had Got back to the prison Gate, the Serjt. with the Centinal Searched Mr. White & took from him ye Liquer and would from the rest but they Were to Quick for him our People threw mud & Water at the Serjent & hooted him out of ye yard, the fellow was only a lance Serjt. by Name Rickett belongg. to Glocester,—Richard Tibbits was Siezed and robbed by the above Serjent However our Smuglers have had Great luck Considering the Number of English Cruisers,—This Morng., John Richmond of Virginia, or Strat-en Island in the Jerseys, & Adam Lee of the afor Said place both Entred ye English Service

*Sunday 11the Novr. 1781* Cloudy Weather, 75the Regim Mounted Guard from Dock This Afternoon the Revd. Gibbs preached a Sermon to us in our Ward from the 13the Chapter of St. Mathews Gospel & 10th Verse and he Saith unto the Meltitude hear Yea, and Understand,—he made an Excellent Discourse, and a very fine prayer, We hear 5 Men are Sent to France from Portsm'th in a flag, and 26 have their Names Sent up to London for a pardon.

*Monday 12the Novr. 1781* Fair Weather North Glocester Shire Melitia mounted Guard from Plym'th We hear the Ship Franklin L. M. 20 Nine pounders belongg. to Phileadelphia She was taken Going into France Loaded with Tobaco, and brought into Weym'th the above Ship was Commanded by Capt. Ankers & Navigated with 105 Men We hear Don Solano has joined Count De Grasse with 7 Sail Line in the Chesepeak.

*Tuesday 13th Novr. 1781* Cloudy 50th Regt. Mounted Guard from Dock,—The English cry out, they Say Darby

has don nothg. he has came in & left their Trade to the Mercy of the french, who has Sent a Fleet to intercept them, and the Dutch are Reigning in the North Sea,—and that Gibralter nor Minorco are not relieved, Last Night 2 Men made their Escape from ye French prison,

*Wednesday 14th Nov. 1781* Fair Weather, South Gloucester Shire Melitia Mounted Guard, last Night, Rained very hard Early this Mornng. Mr. Alexandr. Tindall,—Richd. Carvin, Edwd. Duff, Wm. Green, Benjm. Brown, and a Number more taken the oppertunity of the rain intended to make their Escape but Unfortunately a Centinal was placed at ye back of the Wall, which prevented their opperations at that place, to git out if Possible, accordingly took Down the E. end of the Roof of the prison, and put their Rope down, in doing which Alarm'd the Centinal that was under, who call'd out the Guard, immediately we had 2 Centinals placed in our Chamber to prevent our Going out Which brought the day light When the Tubs went out Mr. Tindall & Duff went With them, & as they were Coming back took to their heels & run off, the Centinl. fir'd and the Royal Hospital Guard took them up they were Immediately put in the Black hole,—after we was counted out the Mason came and Stopped the breach,—James Wills (Turnkey) inform'd the agent we would not clean the prison he immediately orderd ye Market from ye Gate we acquainted Mr. Cowdry his informant was a Lyer and Jno. Good (Turnkey) testified to what we had Said, and told ye Agent we was Cleaning the prison when the Minion (James) told we would not, Mr. Cowdry order'd us to our Usual Liberties we had 2 Centinals put in our Chamber the Numb'r of Centinals in the prison and yard are as follows, Vizt. Ward C 2 Ward D 2. Grate Yard 4 Ward B 5— Little Yard one in all 14: out Side 31 Number Guard, 1 Capt. 1 Lieut. 1 Ensign 4 Serjts. 4 Corpls. I Drum 1 Fife & 24 privates Centinals 2 hours on and 2 off.

*Thursday 15th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 50th Regt. Mounted Guard from dock, Last Night very Windy & Rain, which favor'd the Escape of the following Men vizt.

Richd. Corvin, Boston, Wm. Green Providence, Robt. Browning Rhode Island, Wm. Cunningham Bristol England,—Thoms. Boyland Richd. Smittey Nichos. Field and James Nevell of Ireland. The above Men brought 2 C—— at the —— of the p——, — there is no Enquiry made for them as yet we put 8 Men in at the pissdill door & they were Counted twice, which made the number good about 10 oClock a Shower of Snow, and rain all the rest of ye day we hear that a packet has arrived from N. York but dont know the Contents

*Friday 16th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 75th Regt. Mounted Guard from doek Yesterday Several of our Men made an agreement with one Dunn, (belonging to the 50 Regt.) to Let them out at Night, the Soldier promis'd he would, and before Night told his Comrads there would be guns fir'd before Morng. about 9 oClock last night the Said Dun, being on his post at the E. corner of the prison pretended he Saw a Man Coming from the Window by a rope and Immediatly Fir'd which oceation'd the rest of the Centinals to fire by which means the Guard was Alarm'd and they fired between 20 & 30 Muskets up the alley baek of the prison, the Guard Came in and found all of us in our Hammocks It appears that the Said Dunn, did not intend any Should go by his firing and our people was very Luckey In not trying, this Morng. before the Guard was releaved we was Mustered and the Men missed, the prison was Serehed, and they found the Bar cut off in the Window where our people got out,— from the Plymthe Chronicel 16th Inst. we are inform'd that their has been a Severe battle between Genl. Green and the English in Carolina In which Genl. Green was defeated, with a great loss, the English 2000 against 8000, and that Conwallis Was in great Spirits at York Town that Genl. Clinton with 8000 Troops had gone to his assistance that the Admls. Graves, Hood, Drake & Digby,— With 27 Sail of the Line Was gone for the Cheasepeak,—The Americans acet. in the Same paper Says, that Genl. Greene had had a Sever battle with the English in Carolina & defeated them, Caused them to retreat With great loss & kept the ground, and that the ameriean army in



Virginia had taken three Redoubts from Conwallis on the 17th Sepr. and had a heyth [height] in possession that Commanded the Town,—That Genl. Washington had Sent to Lord Conwallis not to destroy any Stores, for if he did he must answer It at his Peril,—Last Night Capt. Nathl. Nazro Got out of the Black hole With 40 frenchmen and tried to get their Liberty, but Could not Get out of the Lower gate, the Centinals Was oblig'd to Capitulate with him to get them Back.—

*Saturday 17th Nov. 1781* Foul Weather, South Gloucester Melitia Mounted Guard, They write from Fortune that 26 Expects to go in the First Cartiel, and whoever runs a way is to be put back, we are inform'd that Conwallis's army Consists of 5000 Men Including British Hessions Tories &c, to which maybe aded 1000 arm'd Nigroes and the American army 15000, Exclusive the Virginia Melitia, No Money and Very dark time.

*Sunday 18th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather North Gloucester Melitia mounted Guard from Plym'th this Afternoon ye Revd. Mr. Gibbs preached a Sermon to us from 12 Chapt. Hebrews & 25 Verse—Jest before Night the following men that broke out of prison Was brot. back & put in the Black hole Vizt. Richard Smithey James Nevell Nicho. Field belongg. to the Black Princess and Willm. Cunningham—

*Monday 19th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather 50th Regt. mounted Guard from Dock We hear that 26 men first on the List & Some Officers are to be Sent to France the first Cartiel from prison this morning the follg. men taken out of the Black hole Vizt. Capt. Nathl. Nazro, Nathl. Warner, Morris Conner, Willm. Howleys—Willm. Mathews & Edwd. Porter— We hear Mr. Cowdey is Sick we Suppose he has had one of Drinking froglicks—

*Tuesday 20th Novr. 1781* Dark Cloudy Windey Weather and Some Rain South Gloucester Melitia mounted Guard from Dock this Afternoon Mr. Sowrey brought our money and Said he was Order'd to Supply us with a Shilling a Week till further Orders.

*Wednesday 21th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather 50th Regt. mounted Guard from Dock Last Night Mr. Pol-



lard, Benja. Brown & John Hood broke out of the prison but were taken & Confined to the Black hole Mr. Pollard had agreed with a Soldier Acquainted his Officer Who advised him to let them Come out and he with the Guard would be ready to take them and as Soon as the men were Come down by the rope and paid the Centinal the other Centinal alarmed the Guard the Officer & Some Soldiers took them who at that time was waiting at the end of the ally, to Receive them as Soon as they came out. This is the Second time this officer has Done the like action,—Saml. Knapp of Salem Who was taken in the Black Princess, and had belong'd to ye Eaco Sloop of War but deserted hir and carried from this prison on board ye Guard Ship and put in Irons, to be tryed for 'is life, Was Set on Shore descharg'd & Naked,—This afternoon 15 americans Was Examin'd at Dock and Sent to prison but one George Furnall,—made his Escape, the followg. Were Committed,—Brig Venus, taken 1st June 1781 Andw. Tooms — Portsmouth Danl. Hunt — Portsmouth Benja. More Kittery.—Willm. Mitchell Do—Nathl. Kennard—Do Edwd. Furnall—Do Jacob Remick—Do.

Ship Loin, Thoms. Rudroc Waterford N. J. Countis Morbloral Cutter Taken May the 31the 1781 Nathl. Howell, South Hampton Long Island.

Schoon'r Susanna taken 6th march 1781—

Jono. Keeton Norfk. Virginia

Ship South Carolina's Prize taken 14th Septr. 1781 James Pike—Boston—Ship Loin of Newb'ry taken 14 Augt. Willim. Cooper, Boston 1781—

The Alliance Cutter taken 5th June 1781— part the Crew Committed Vizt. Griffith Jones, Philedelpa, John Thompson, Philedelpa—

*Thursday 22d Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 75 Regimt. Mounted Guard, from Dock.

*Friday 23th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, South Gloucester melitia mounted Guard from Dock,—This day Drew Cloathing I drew a Vest coat and a pare of Shoes Britches and Shirte.

*Saturday 24the Novr. 1718* Fair Weather, N. Gloucester Melitia Mounted Guard from Plymth. Six or Seven Sail of ye Line went up the Amourze.

*Sunday 25th Nov. 1781* Fair Weather 50th Regiment mounted Guard from Dock P.M. Capt. Jon. Malcom came hear, by whoume we Received the Agreeable News of the Captuer of Earl Conwallis by the Armeý of the United States of America—

tis currently reported for truth and Said his Capitulation is the Same as that of Charlestown— We had no preaching to Day by reason of the person being Sick—

*Monday 26th Novr. 1781* Foul Weather 75th Regiment mounted Guard from Dock We hear a Numbr. Frigates & Transports have fallen into our hands in the Cheseapeake the English Say that 2 of Their Admls. disputed which Should have the Command which detained them from relieving Conwallis and that Adml. is under Arrest Great are our Expectations from this noble Exersion of Genl. Washington's in Captureing Conwallis, by which We hope to obtain our Liberties—

The following Men released from the Black hole vizt. Alexander Tindell, Mr. Duff, Richd. Smittey, James Nevell, Nichols. Field, Wm. Cunningham, Peter Pollard, Benja. Brown, & John Hood, Genl. Clinton threatens Digby & Digby Clinton with being put under arrest.

*Tuesday 27th Novr. 1781* Rainey Weather South Gloster Melitia Mounted Guard from Dock,—This Morning Capt. Jno. Foster Williams Recd. a Letter by which we have ye agreeable news of the Captur of Earl Conwallis on the 17 October last,—Copy of the Letter:—

Sir Plymouth. Novr. 25th 1781

For the Satisfaction of you Gentlemen Confin'd haven Sent you word of Comfort, to raise your drooping Spirits, Capt. Walcombe Arrived on Friday last with the agreeable News of Genl. Conwallis having Surrendered Prisoner's of War With all his army on the 17th Octobr. to his Excellency Genl. Washington, & the French Armament Remain masters of the Chesapeak, let this be the means of Satisfying you for I Suppose you will all be Exchanged in a Short time,

am your hearty Friend

am afraid to put my Name Notwiths Standing the Rain we displayed the 13 Stripes in the Yard and gave 13

Cheers which was Answered by our Good Allies the French.

*Wednesday 28th Novr. 1781* Rainey Weather South Gloucester militia mounted Guard from Plymth. Last Evening Capt. Edwd. Mc Carty, Edwd. Duffy and Nicholas Field, belongg. to the Black Princess out of Dunkirk was taken out prison, and put in Iorns and Carried to London, tis Said they (English) Claim them for their Subjects and Some Say Mc Carty runaway With a Kings Cutter from Irland, We had a Great frolic last Night on Acct. of Conwallis being taken,—from the Plymth. paper, Tis Said the English Fleet Sail'd from N. York,—19th Octobr. but met with a Weal boat ther and was oblig'd to repair their Damage,—this day Recd. our Money—

*Thursday 29th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 50th Regiment Mounted Guard from Dock, Saw this day a Dialogue Between a barber & Jack Tar Concerning Conwalis Which takes the English Minestry off much and is entertaining.—P.M. Wm. Cunningham of Brestol Eng'd Enter'd on board a Man of War,

*Friday 30th Novr. 1781* Fair Weather, 75 Regiment Mounted Guard from Dock The Comadant at Charles-town (Carolina) writes to Sir Henry Clinton at N. York that he is so Surrounded that if he dont have a powerfull reinforcement Soon he Must Surrender by the last of October In the Same paper, is Genl. Greens proclamation, where in he is Determ'd to retaliate on British officers, for the Inhuman Murder of Several American officers,—His Majestv's Speach Containing nothg. Exta, he wants to Subdue the Americans & Wishes for an honorable peace,—but the people Seem determin'd not to vote a Shilling to Carry on the American War,—

*Saturday 1st Decr. 1781* Fair Weather, 50th Regimt. Mounted Guard from dock

*Sunday 2d Decr. 1781* Fair Weather South Gloucester Melitia Mounted Guard from Dock, Last Night Rain'd hard, P.M. We had a Sermon preach'd to us from 3d Chapter Malechi & 6 Verse,—Capt. John Malcom was here and told us we Should be Exchanged he is very kind in bringing us all the News he can that's in our faver,—

Jest as we turn'd in a Woman came to the Gate & told us Conwallis Was Taken & likewise Charleston, that we would soon be exchang'd and we had friends enough in Plymouth.

*Monday 3d Decr. 1781* Fair Weather North Gloucester Melitia mounted Guard from Plymth. from the Plyth. Chronical 29th Novr. the following is Said to be a List of the army Under Ld. Conwallis when he Capitulated,—

Lord Conwallis, Major General O'Hara, prisoners, Regiment brigade of guards, Light Infantry of the army, Regiments,—

17 Monckton	23 Sir Wm. Howe
33 Conwallis	43 Cary
71 Frazier	80 Erskine
96 Mc Donald	82 Mc Leun

Queens, Rengers, Simew  $\frac{1}{2}$  Cavelry British legion Tarleton  $\frac{1}{2}$  ditto (Ley Frigates Said to be [torn] Charon 44 Guns

Iris .....	32	Guadolup [torn]
Richmond .....	32	Fowey [torn]

Besides transports & 2000 Seamen belong. [torn] above Ships, Stores [torn] &c, Innumerable, [torn] prisoners in Mill [torn]

Americans .....	436
French .....	296
Dutch .....	19

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751 Total

*Tuesday 4d Decr.* Fair Weather, 50 [torn] Mounted Guard from [torn] We hear Hyder Alli [torn] taken Madras in [torn] Recd. our [torn]

*Wednesday 5th Decr. 1781* [torn] Weather, 75th Regmt. mounted Guard from Dock, [torn] Seems Determind. to [torn] on the War it was [torn] vote & carried by [torn] at Majority. We hear [torn] Green in his Last [torn] at Carolina Totally [torn] the Enemy, with [torn] 300 Men, the English [torn] kill'd & taken [torn]

*Thursday 6th Decr. 1781* [torn] Weather, N. Gloucester mounted Guard [torn] Afternoon 22 am [torn] mited to prison [torn]

## TRADE WITH BARCELONA IN 1775

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Barcelona the 17 Mar. 1775.

Salem,

Benj<sup>n</sup> Pickman & Peter Frye Esqrs

Sirs:

Since our last advices 25 Jan<sup>r</sup> very little Wheat hav Import'd, either from Quebec or Russia, & only about 20/m q<sup>ras</sup> from Philadelphia, Maryland &c with 1600: Barrils of flour, which have sold from 45 to 46/s strl Eng. quart<sup>s</sup> the former, & from 13/6 to 14/6sh. st.  $\text{£}$  Cwt the latter, clear, less commission & Brokerage but now circumstances haveing alter'd on account of your and your Neighbouring provinces difficultyes with England, & the uncertainty of any Extraction being permitted from Russia the ensuing Season, also the high prices in London & the western out ports which induce such cargoes as call at Cadiz & Lisbon, to proceed thither we may venture to extend our encouragement to equal to 46 to 47/s. st.  $\text{£}$  English quarters for wheat of your country & 14/6 to 15/6s. st. Cwt for fine flour, both clear of charges as above, which you may morally depend on & if we continue a week or two more without any Importations of Grain according to all actual expectations, we make no doubt prices will advance, so that if affairs are made up in England, & you could get the start might do very well this way. It is too soon to form any certain Idea on the young depending crops, when can; you will again hear from Us, for the present have to add that since our said last this Market has received its full supply of Baccalao; the last cargo sold was at  $\text{£}$  41½ on board, ready Money, being 2/3 large: about 22/M quint. actually remain in the warehouse & mole, & we do not think it prudent to encourage any more comeing this way, Seeing Lent so farr advanced. We remain very sincerely

Sirs/ Your most ob<sup>t</sup> & H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Wombwell's Arabett Co.

—Frye Mss., Essex Institute.



## LETTER RELATING TO SALEM IN 1729

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[The following letter, which is contributed by Harold Bowditch, M.D., of Boston, was written by James Jeffry, clerk for Bowditch and Hunt, shipping merchants of Salem. Jeffry was son of James Jeffry of Portsmouth, N. H., and came to Salem about 1722, at the age of sixteen. The firm of Bowditch and Hunt was composed of Capt. William Bowditch (1665-1728) and Capt. Lewis Hunt ( -1717), who had evidently maintained a fish-curing place at Canso. At the time this letter was written, both partners were dead, but the business was apparently carried on by their sons, Capt. Joseph Bowditch (1700-1780) and William Hunt (1701-1780). The families were closely connected by marriage, Joseph Bowditch having married Elizabeth Hunt, Capt. William's daughter, and William Hunt having married Eunice, daughter of Capt. William Bowditch. The firm of Bowditch and Hunt is mentioned in the Bowditch papers as late as 1737.]

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(Addressed:)

For  
Messrs Bowditch & Hunt  
Merchants in  
Canso

Gent<sup>n</sup>

I saw your Letter you wrote Coll<sup>o</sup> Browne<sup>1</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> Incouragement his fishermen have hitherto had, and haveing an opportunity, thought I wou'd Inform you of our affairs here att Salem Since your absence. The Loss of Coll<sup>o</sup> Brown's Daughter<sup>2</sup> you have undoubtedly heard of, Capt. Bowditches Son Joseph has been Verry Ill with y<sup>e</sup> Same Distemper, but is now in health, as all your freinds are here

<sup>1</sup> Col. Samuel Browne (1669-1731), the great Salem merchant, whose house was sold to Elias Hasket Derby, when the latter built his house at Derby Square.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mary, born Jan. 4, 1701-2, whose death is not recorded in Salem Vital Records.

att Presents, I suppose your wives will write you by the bearers, for I gave them Warning of itt.

I have perform'd family Duties Constantly tho with much Difficulty. Our Election<sup>3</sup> was here Last Wednesdy the Governour was attended by y<sup>e</sup> Councill to y<sup>e</sup> Councill Chamber & from thence to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting house under y<sup>e</sup> Conduc [torn] of our two new Captains & their company's (Higginson & Plaisted) in short we have hardly any thing but the Exercise of y<sup>e</sup> firelock now, the Lieut<sup>s</sup> are Hicks & Turner a newspaper wherein is the Election, is Inclosed. the person that Preached was Mr. Wise<sup>4</sup> of Neehowanwick his Text was Romans 13 Chap. 4th Verse.

We have a great Expectation of War here, we have neither Beadle nor Touzell Come in yett.

We have no news, only this night Mitchell Sewall<sup>5</sup> is to be Married & Benj<sup>n</sup> Browne<sup>6</sup> this night Seven night

nothing more at Present from one who is in hast & am  
Gent Y<sup>r</sup> Hum<sup>bl</sup> Servant

Salem June 5: 1729—

James Jeffry

write me

I suppose you have some butter sent by the bearer  
To Mess<sup>s</sup> Bowditch & Hunt<sup>7</sup>

(Endorsed:)

Letter from J Jeffry

Canso 1729

<sup>3</sup> At this period the General Court was meeting in Salem. See Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Jeremiah Wise of Newichawannock, now Berwick, Me., son of Rev. John Wise of Chebacco Parish, Ipswich.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell Sewall and Mary Cabot married June 4, 1729.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Browne and Eunice Turner married June 19, 1729. Browne was son of Capt. John Browne, brother of Colonel Samuel.

<sup>7</sup> The seal, which is not necessarily armorial, shows on an elliptical field a unicorn rampant.

# INVENTORY OF HER MAJESTY'S SHIP *PROVINCE GALLEY*

Boston Aug<sup>t</sup>: 3<sup>d</sup>: 1711

An Inventory of Her Maj<sup>t</sup>: Province Gally<sup>1</sup> Viz:

- The Shipp with all Her Runing Rigen
- Two Boates
- 18 Great Ordinance Saker Bore
- 4 Small pounders: 20 Carrages
- Gunners Stores
- 34 Hand Crow levers
- 13 Iron Crowes 16 Ramers & Springes
- 7 Ladles & Wormes 18 Powder Hornes
- 62 Double Headed Shoot 290 Round Shoot
- 106 pounds of Lead Shott 55 Partridge [sic] Boxes
- 80 Bags of Partridge
- 26 Lead Aprons 42 Cartridge Cases
- 200 Paper Cartridge 1 Muscovy Light
- 1 Darke Lantherne 6 Other Lantherns
- 40 Gun Takles 28 Britching
- 17 Rope Ramers & Spunges
- 23 Javelins 1 Hand Vice
- 93 Small Cartridge Boxes
- 127 Armed Iron Granada Shells
- 66 Brass Ditto, 9 falce fires
- 48 Hatchetts, 100 pound of Swan Shoot
- 2 Hamers, 1 Marline Speek, 2 Iron Ladles
- 2 Iron Scowering Rods, 250 pounds of Powder
- 1 Case of Bottles filled With Powder
- 72 Fuces & Musketts, 69 Pistols, 39 Cutlasses
- 4 Blunderbusses, 2 Hand Morters
- Carpenters Stores
- 1 Iron Tiller for y<sup>e</sup>: Shipp
- 2000 of Severall Sorts of Nails
- 4 Iron Ss 18 pounds of Speeks 20 pounds of Dock
- Nails
- 16 pounds of Sheet Lead 10 Sheets, 2 pair of Duftailes

<sup>1</sup>For other material relating to the *Province Galley*, see *E. I. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. 58; also Publications of the *Colonial Society of Mass.*, Vol. 32. She was commanded by Capt. William Pickering of Salem.

- 20 yds of red baise, 1 Grind Stone
- 20 pounds of Ocum 10 pounds of Pump Leather
- 1 Pitch Pott & Ladle
- Boatswains Stores
- 1 Third Worn Sheat Cable
- 2 Best Bower Cables  $\frac{1}{2}$  worne
- 1 Olde Small Bower Ditto
- 2 Short Halfe Worne Harsers
- 1 Sheet Anchor, 1 best bower Anchor
- 1 Small Bower D<sup>o</sup>; 1 Stream Ditto
- 3 Log Lines, 4 Compasses,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Hour Glasses
- 1 Dipssy Lead & Line, 1 Hand Lead & Line
- $1\frac{1}{2}$  Watch Glass,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Minute Glasses
- $\frac{1}{2}$  doz<sup>n</sup>: of Marline 1 Lantern 1 Bell
- 2 Jacks, 1 White Ensign, 1 Olde Red Ensign
- $\frac{1}{2}$  doz<sup>n</sup>; of Sail Needles, 1 doz<sup>n</sup>; of Small Ditto
- 3 Palmes, 1 Hatchet, 4 yds. of Duck
- 4 yds. of New England Ditto 2 yds of Red baies
- $\frac{1}{2}$  pound of Thread Hammacks 8 Ded Eyes
- 2 Winding Takle Blocks, 1 Main Eye Block
- 3 Top Saile Sheets D<sup>o</sup>: 1 Clew garnott D<sup>o</sup>;
- 2 Travellers, 1 doz<sup>n</sup>: of Trucks 5 Scains Twine
- 16: 6 in. Blocks 9: 8 inch Ditto
- 3 Scains of Hand Line, 1 Olde Dipssy Line
- 16 Scrapers, 30 pounds of Spun yarn 4 Serveing Mal-  
letts
- 4 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz<sup>n</sup> of Points, 40 fathem of Ratline
- 25 Fathem of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Inch Rope
- 12 Fath<sup>m</sup>: of 3 in<sup>h</sup>: D<sup>o</sup>: 24 Fath<sup>m</sup>; of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in<sup>h</sup>; D<sup>o</sup>
- 4 Fath<sup>m</sup>;  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Ditto, 10 Thimbles, 14 Bucketts
- 9:5 In<sup>h</sup>: Blocks, 1 Snatch Block 9 Hooks
- 1 pr. of Canhooks. 6 Marline Speeks 1 Graplin
- Main Saile, Fore Saile, 1 Mizon
- 1 Mizon Top Saile, 2 Main Tope Sailes
- 2 Fore Top Sailes 1 Mizon Stay Saile
- 2 Top Gallant Sailes, 1 Main Top Mast Stay Saile
- 1 Fore Stay Saile, 1 Flying Jebb
- 1 Spreet Sale, 1 Spreet Saile Top Saile
- 6 Studenssailes

—*Essex Institute Mss.*, Ship Papers, Vol. I, p. 3.

SHIPBUILDERS' CERTIFICATES, NEWBURY-  
PORT DISTRICT, 1812.

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Abner Hendrick, master carpenter, of Haverhill, built schooner *Spring Bird*, at Haverhill, for David Currier and Jno. Huntington of Amesbury, merchants.

Elisha Briggs of Newburyport, built brig *Iris*, at Newbury, for William Parsons of Boston.

Joseph Allen of Ipswich, built schooner *Caroline*, at Ipswich, for Samuel Collins of Salisbury.

Stephen and Benjamin Lowell of Salisbury, built schooner *Salisbury*, at Salisbury, for John Odiorne of Salisbury.

Jacob Coffin of Newbury, built schooner *Yankee*, at Newbury.

John Saunders, Jr., of Rowley, built the boat *Bee*, at Rowley, for Titcomb & Lunt of Newburyport and Nehemiah and Nathaniel Johnson of Rowley.

Jacob Coffin of Newbury, built the brig *Essex*, at Newbury, for Jacob Little of Newbury.

David Worthen of Amesbury, built brig *Ariadne*, at Amesbury, for Robert Foster.

Jonathan Morrill of Salisbury, built brig *Decator*, at Salisbury, for Benjamin Pierce, Micajah Lunt and Daniel Farley of Newburyport.

Stephen Pillsbury of Newburyport, built boat *Mary* at Newburyport for himself and Robert Follansbee.

Richard Hackett & Co., of Salisbury, built the ship *Retrieved Potomac*, at Salisbury, for Edmund Bartlett of Newburyport.

—*Essex Institute Ship Papers*, Vol. III.







SAID BIN SULTAN  
No. 120



SAMQUA  
No. 121

CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS IN THE  
PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM.

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(Continued from Vol. LXXIV, page 96.)

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118. JOSHUA SAFFORD, 1779-1843. Oil by unknown artist, about 1835. Canvas, 19¾ in. x 15½ in. Three-quarters life size, portrait of young man, head tilted to left, eyes look down towards left. Curling brown hair, high white collar, black stock, dark green coat, round tie pin. Right hand rests on books. Gray-green background. M 390.

*Gift of Perry Collier, 1895.*

Joshua Safford, sea captain, was born at Salem 7 September 1779, the son of Thomas Safford and his first wife, Elizabeth (Phelps) Safford. He was long identified with the Russia and East India trades. He commanded the bark *George*, sailing to Rotterdam in 1806, the brigs *Laura* and *Alert*, the schooners *Nancy* and *Georgetown*, the latter owned by Pickering Dodge and others. He is said to have been taken prisoner by the British during the War of 1812 and to have been confined in Dartmoor Prison. In 1816, when the 341-ton ship *Palladium* was built with the intention of establishing a packet line between Liverpool and Salem, Captain Safford became part owner with many of Salem's well known merchants and captains. This adventure, however, did not prove a success. Captain Safford was the owner of a rope walk in Salem on Bridge Street, but was again unfortunate, for the walk was entirely consumed by fire 17 February 1837, during a raging storm of sleet and snow. He was for a time in the government service as an inspector and measurer at the Custom House in Salem, and had charge of one of the United States Revenue boats. He was a charter member of the Salem Charitable Mechanic Association. He married 15 October 1801, at Salem, Dorothy Foye, born about 1779, the daughter of William and Elizabeth Foye. Captain Safford died in Salem 25 August 1843, survived by his wife and six children. His son-in-law, Samuel E. Mudge of Lynn, administered on his estate. Mrs. Safford died in Salem, 30 April 1858.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Dockets 52419, 59186; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 262, 263, IV, 282, VI, 204; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 147; *E. I. H. C.*, XXXIX (1903), 18, XLII (1906), 34, LXVII (1931), 279, 280; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 7, 71, 129, 139; *Salem Register*, 9 February 1885; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 385; *Essex Co. Genealogies*, manuscript at Essex Institute.]

119. SAID BIN SULTAN, 1791-1856. Oil by Lieutenant Henry Blossie Lynch, R. N. Canvas,  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in. x  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in. Quarter life size seated figure of elderly man, head three-quarters to left, eyes looking left, dark skin, short white whiskers around chin and sides of face. Drooping white moustache. Pale blue and gold striped turban, white V necked robe, pale yellow sash, black coat. Hands rest on arms of chair. Yellow gray background. Tropical seascape with trees and vessel shows through open window. M 786.

*Gift of Mrs. J. P. Shepard, 1906*

120. SAID BIN SULTAN, 1791-1856. Copy in oil of Lieutenant Lynch's portrait, painted about 1860, probably by George Southward of Salem. M 336. Neg. 618.

*Gift of Henry F. Shepard*

Said bin Sultan, ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, was born at Semail in 1791 of royal parentage, the son of Sultan bin Ahmed and Ghanee. His father died in 1804, while sole ruler of Oman, leaving Said and his elder brother Selim in care of a relative, Mohammed bin Nasir, who appointed the brothers to official positions at Muscat. During the furious political intrigues which soon surrounded the two youths, Said attained such popularity and showed such force of character that after some bloodshed he was proclaimed ruler of Oman. He at once assigned an equal share in the government to his brother Selim. Said rose rapidly to great power, despite some misfortunes in his attacks upon his enemies on sea and land. With the assistance of French allies and of an expe-

ditionary force commanded by an English officer from Bombay, he was able to subdue several savage tribes whose piracy had endangered his reign at Oman. Dissatisfied with his fortunes at Oman, he left for East Africa and after considerable fighting he entered the citadel of Mombasa, from which he was later repulsed. Said, however, was determined to establish his rule at Zanzibar, in which he was finally successful and there he built a country house. He introduced the culture of the clove, experimented with sugar and manufactured indigo. He set up commercial agencies at Calcutta and Bombay, the Dutch Indies, Persia and China and divided his time for the next few years between Oman and Zanzibar. In 1856, setting out upon a sea voyage to the latter place, he seemed to feel that he should never return, and strangely enough, on 19 October as the vessel neared port he died. His body was embalmed, contrary to the Mohammedan custom, by order of his son Barghash, who was with him, and was interred at Zanzibar. The relations of Said bin Sultan with France, Great Britain and the United States were very friendly, serving to establish favorable conditions for commerce between them and his own possessions. The United States was particularly favored and when the U. S. sloop of war *Peacock*, bearing Edmund Roberts as plenipotentiary, reached Muscat in 1833 a treaty of amity and commerce was there signed which was ratified in 1834 by the President and Senate. At this time there were two American whaling brigs at Zanzibar, one from Salem and the other from New York. It was not long before exports of gum copal, ivory, cloves and hides were shipped from Zanzibar and American cotton goods, rivalling those from England, were sold in exchange. The majority of the American traders were from Salem, as were six of the American consuls. Said bin Sultan had several wives, according to the Mohammedan custom. His first wife was his cousin, Azza bin Seif. Two others were Persian.

[See Said-Ruete, *Said bin Sultan*, 7, 10, 13, 15, 40, 71, 72, 122, 136-138; *E. I. H. C.*, LXV (1920) 363.]



121. SAMQUA. Oil by Lamqua, Canton. From the Augustine Heard Collection. Canvas,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  in. x  $24\frac{3}{4}$  in. Waist length figure, head turned slightly to left, eyes front, heavy black moustache. Wears black silk robe, cord hangs from center of circular blue collar. Two long strings of colored beads around neck, front of robe embroidered in blue and red. White fur cuff covers most of left hand which holds beads. Warm gray background. M 3789. Neg. 3271.

*Purchase, 1931*

Samqua, the name used by foreigners for Wu Kien-Chang, was a Hong merchant at Canton in 1837. In 1848 he was appointed Taotai (head of the customs) at Shanghai, and in 1854 was instrumental in establishing the basis of the Inspectorate General of Customs. During the rebel insurrection at Shanghai in 1853 the neutrality of its foreign settlements was questioned and the British, French and American consuls refused to admit the revenue authority of the Taotai until the customs should be fairly reinstated and the city again out of the hands of the rebels. Finally in 1854 an agreement was made with Samqua, then a refugee in the English settlements, that several Custom House inspectors should be appointed by him from the foreign Consulates who would work with him and so establish without a doubt the questioned neutrality. This Samqua did, thus enabling him to obtain legally revenues which otherwise he could not well collect. This arrangement was pleasing to the Consulates and mercantile houses and for a while was peaceably enjoyed. Before long, however, high officials of the central administration at Peking announced themselves displeased and by an imperial edict impeached Samqua and in 1855 banished him to "the cold countries of Tartary," where he supposedly died.

[See Morse, *East India Company in China*, IV, 327; Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, II, 12-24; Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, III, 367, IV, 37, 93, 97, 98; *Chinese Repository*, IV (1835), 291, V (1837), 432, XVII (1848), 206, 373; Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 362.]

122. THOMAS SAUL, 1787-1875. Oil by foreign artist. Canvas,  $26\frac{3}{4}$  in. x 23 in. Waist length figure, three-quarters to left, eyes front, dark hair and short side whiskers, dark complexion. High white collar, stock tied in bow knot, high-cut white waistcoat, dark coat. Right hand partially concealed in opening of coat. Dark background. M 391. Neg. 2504.

Thomas Saul, master mariner, was born at Salem 21 October 1787, the son of Joseph Saul, a native of France, and his wife Mary (Stanley) Saul. Thomas Saul was a seaman in the brig *Active*, William P. Richardson, master, which made the first trading voyage from Salem to the Fiji Islands in 1810. He married 1 November 1812 Sarah Foye, baptised 18 March 1787, the daughter of William and Elizabeth (Masury) Foye. In September 1818 and August 1819 he was reported at Batavia in command of the brig *Jane*, a vessel built in New York in 1817, which was registered at the Salem Custom House 1 February 1820 with Willard Peele, James Skinner, Richard Wheatland and Benjamin Dodge as owners and Thomas Saul as master. He commanded the *Jane* for several years, as is witnessed by an entry at Salem in July 1820 with a cargo of iron from Gothenburg and another entry in November 1823 from Sumatra with pepper. In 1825 Captain Saul was master and part owner of the schooner *Lafayette*. On his retirement from the sea he was employed as a toll gatherer on the Salem Turnpike, and afterwards was made constable at the Essex County Court House. Captain Saul joined the East India Marine Society in 1820, was elected secretary in 1846, and, for some years prior to 1867, was Superintendent of the Museum. At the time of his death, 27 September 1875, he was the senior member of the Society.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 52642; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 323, II, 269, IV, 287; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 12; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 95, 103; *History E. I. M. S.*, 59; *Salem Register*, 1 February 1875; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 30 January 1875; *Salem Gazette*, 7 June 1887; *Salem Directory*, 1874; Putnam, I, 63; IV,

156, 157, 160, 161; Osgood and Batchelder, 192; Information at Peabody Museum.]

123. JOHN JAMES SCOBIE, 1808-1857. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Half length, quarter life size figure, three-quarters to left, eyes front. Dark hair and short side whiskers, dark complexion, high collar, black stock. Three gold studs in shirt front connected by a gold chain. Black cutaway coat, light trousers, double watch chain. Holds long spyglass in left hand, blue-gray sky background. M 328. Neg. 5044.

*Bequest of Miss Mary Jane Scobie, 1890.*

John James Scobie, master mariner, was probably born in Salem about 1808, the son of John Scobie, a native of Scotland who was a dry goods dealer in Vine Street, Salem. His mother was Lydia (Mason) Maley, the daughter of Jonathan and Susanna (Babbage) Mason, and widow of Captain Benjamin Maley of Newburyport. John James Scobie in 1827 was a seaman in the famous ship *George* during a voyage to Calcutta. Later in life he commanded several vessels. He joined the Salem Light Infantry 29 January 1831, and became a member of the Salem Marine Society in July 1847. Captain Scobie married 21 June 1846 Caroline Savory, born at Salem 1 January 1816, the daughter of Richard and Betsey (Lewis) Savory. They lived at 6 Oliver Street, Salem, which was the homestead of Captain Scobie's father. Mrs. Scobie died 11 December 1849, and Captain Scobie was lost at sea between 21 May 1857 and the end of that year. He was survived by his sisters, Catherine T. and Mary Jane Scobie.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Dockets 17528, 52864; *Essex Co. Reg. of Deeds*, CCXC, 234; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 271, III, 291, VI, 212; *Newburyport Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 308; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XVIII, 43; *E. I. H. C.*, IV (1862), 10, XXVI (1889), 278; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 150; Salem Directory, 1857; Putnam, II, 20; Perley, III, 158; Bentley, *Diary*, II, 446; Savory, *Savory and Sevary Families*, 128.]

124. JOHN HENRY SEARS, 1843-1910. Oil by Isaac H. Caliga, 1908. Canvas, 41 in. x 33 in. Three-quarters length figure of elderly man seated in a Windsor chair. Gray hair and beard, turned-over collar, blue tie, dark suit, gold watch chain across vest. Right hand rests on right knee, left elbow on chair arm. Holds large quartz crystal in left hand. Compound microscope on table at left. M 1467. Neg. 39.

*Gift of David Pingree, 1910.*

John Henry Sears, geologist, was born at Danvers, Massachusetts, 18 June 1843, the son of John Augustus and Henrietta Madeline (Kent) Sears. He attended the Danvers public schools and Topsfield Academy and from a child exhibited a great interest in botany and mineralogy. His first employment was with his father, a shoe manufacturer, but when the latter retired to take up farming the son followed the same calling for several years. On 1 October 1862 Mr. Sears enlisted in Company K, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment and served until his discharge in August 1863. On 24 November 1868 he married, in Boston, Lucinda Cutting Wallace, born in Wenham 16 October 1851, the daughter of James P. and Susan (Fogg) Wallace, both natives of Sandwich, New Hampshire. Four children were born of this marriage. In 1880 Mr. Sears became an Assistant at the Peabody Academy of Science, and shortly after removed with his family to Salem. In 1892 he was advanced to be Curator of Mineralogy and Geology, and in 1904 was given the additional duties of Curator of Botany. Both these posts he held until his death, which occurred 26 February 1910 at his residence at 7 Orne Square. In addition to his work at the Museum Mr. Sears taught botany, mineralogy and geology in the public schools of Salem. Mrs. Sears died 22 January 1925 at the home of her daughter Mrs. Brown on Oakland Street, Salem. Mr. Sears was a careful and thorough student of the geology of Essex County and wrote upon this and allied subjects. His greatest work was *The Physical Geography, Geology, Mineralogy and Palaeontology of Essex County,*



published by the Essex Institute in 1905. He was a member of the New England Botanical Club, the Salem Club, Essex Institute, John Endicott Lodge, A. O. U. W., and Post 34, G. A. R., which he joined 14 July 1885.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 107719; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XXIV, 50, XXVII, 119; *Danvers Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 326, II, 260; *Danvers Historical Collections*, XXII (1934), 53; *Salem Evening News*, 28 February 1910; May, *Sears Genealogy*, 432, 535.]

125. THOMAS SEAVER [?]-1837. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 25½ in. x 21 in. Waist length figure, dark curling hair and short side whiskers, dark complexion, slight smile. High white collar and stock, dark coat and waistcoat. Dark brownish-gray background. M 392.

*Gift of Heirs, through Howard P. Harris, 1897.*

Thomas Seaver, ship master, the date of whose birth has not been established, was probably the son of Thomas and Hannah (Dunbar) Seaver, who were married 19 January 1783 at Hingham. The date of Captain Seaver's removal to Salem is uncertain, but he was married there 31 March 1811 to Rachel Wilkins, born in Middleton, Massachusetts, about 1789, the daughter of William and Sarah (Bancroft) Wilkins. They made their home at 4 Daniels Street, where Captain Seaver died in March 1837. They were the parents of three children, one of whom, the Rev. Joseph H. Seaver, was a Baptist minister, well known in Salem and North Marshfield where he had charge of parishes. The others were Augustus H., Daniel A., and Rachel A. Seaver. Mrs. Seaver died 15 November 1880 at 173 Lafayette Street. Captain Seaver is recorded as commanding the ship *Ann* of Baltimore, which arrived at Salem from Batavia 5 March 1805. An incomplete sea journal, kept on a voyage from Leghorn to Salem in September 1834, seems to indicate that he was of a deeply religious nature. He was greatly attached to his daughter Rachel, and much of this journal appears to be intended for her perusal. The name of the vessel is not mentioned, but he speaks of his birthday as September seventh



and states that he has taken one of his family to sea with him.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 79744; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 294, VI, 214; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 83; *Salem Register*, 17 April 1884; Salem Directories, 1837-1886; *History of Hingham*, II, 200; Seaver, Private Sea Journal at Essex Institute; *Timothy Williams' Marine Notes*, typed manuscript at Essex Institute, 117.]

126. NATHANIEL SILSBEE, 1773-1850. Oil by A. Hartwell after Chester Harding. Canvas,  $38\frac{3}{4}$  in. x  $25\frac{1}{2}$  in. Half length, seated figure, head three-quarters to left, eyes left, light brown hair and short side whiskers. High collar, black stock, black satin waistcoat, black coat. Right arm rests on red covered table on which are papers. Dull gold curtain and column in background. Sky and sea on extreme left. M 354. Neg. 5165.

*Gift of Nathaniel Silsbee, 1869.*

Nathaniel Silsbee, shipmaster, merchant and statesman, was born at Salem 14 January 1773, the son of Nathaniel and Sarah (Becket) Silsbee. His father was a prosperous sea captain who met with financial reverses which compelled the withdrawal of Nathaniel from the school where he was expecting to fit for college. Nathaniel at once went to sea as a clerk and supercargo in the Derby-owned brig, *Three Sisters*, and the next year, 1790, commanded the sloop *Sally*. In 1792 before he was twenty-one years old he was given charge of the new ship *Benjamin* owned by Elias Hasket Derby, and made one of the most successful voyages of the period. Owing to the outbreak of war, he took the responsibility of changing Mr. Derby's plans, and through dealings in foreign exchange brought to his owners a tremendous profit. On 1 November 1800 Captain Silsbee, commanding the letter-of-marque vessel *Herald*, left Calcutta with several American merchantmen sailing together for mutual protection from the French privateers known to be infesting those waters. Shortly after leaving they sighted the East India Company's ship

*Cornwallis*, which was making a running fight with a French ship *La Gloire* closely in pursuit. As the *Cornwallis* appeared to be losing ground, the American fleet moved closer for her protection. The French vessel then steered directly for Captain Silsbee's ship, which opened fire upon her, as did the other vessels. After several rounds the fleet still presented so brave a front that the French ship finally gave up the attack and disappeared. Captain Silsbee's voyages netted him a substantial sum and by 1801 he had retired from the sea to become a leading figure in the business circles of Salem and Boston. About this time he began the purchase of shares in several vessels on his own account as well as that of Silsbee, Pickman and Stone, with whom he had become associated in business. He was part owner of the ships *Herald*, *Friendship*, *Borneo*, *Betsey* and *Alfred*, the schooners *Buckskin*, *Diligent*, *Fanny*, *Georgetown*, *Regulator* and *Superior*, the bark *Mary*, the sloop *Polly*, the brigs *Edwin*, *Endeavour*, *Essex*, *Malay* and *Persia*, and the ketch *John*. He entered politics in 1816 and was chosen member of Congress, serving in the House until 1821 and in the Senate from 1826 to 1835. From 1823 to 1825 he was President of the Massachusetts Senate. He was a colleague of Daniel Webster and an intimate friend of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. His knowledge of naval and merchant marine matters were useful to him as a legislator and no man's opinion was more sought or highly respected. In 1835 Mr. Silsbee retired from business and died in Salem 14 July 1850. He was one of the founders of the East India Marine Society in 1799 and its treasurer from 1808 to 1817. The family home was the brick mansion on Pleasant Street in Salem where he lived with his wife, Mary Crowninshield, daughter of George and Mary (Derby) Crowninshield, whom he married 12 December 1802. She was born 24 September 1778 and died 21 September 1835. Their son Nathaniel was mayor of Salem from 1849 to 1850 and treasurer of Harvard College from 1862 to 1876. Their daughter Mary married Rev. Jared Sparks, one-time President of Harvard College.

[See *Essex County Prob. Rec.*, Docket 53239; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), III, 308, V, 224; *E. I. H. C.*, IV

(1862), 87, XV (1878), 285, XXXV (1899), 1-79; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 6, 17, 19, 23, 26, 40, 46, 53, 55, 59, 67, 71, 84, 85, 99, 112, 116, 144, 149, 155, 166, 179; *History E. I. M. S.*, 28, 54, 71; *Salem Gazette*, 30 May 1882; Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 165; Osgood and Batchelder, 246; Dulles, *The Old China Trade*, 34, 35; Emmerton, *Henry Silsbee and Some of His Descendants*, 32-34; Duren, *Three Generations of Silsbees and Their Vessels*, 2-5; Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 220-222.]

127. SAMUEL SMITH. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 28½ in. x 23½ in. Figure three-quarters to left, eyes front, brown hair brushed towards face. Short side whiskers, high white collar, black stock, dark waistcoat, blue-gray coat with brass buttons. Holds large spyglass against his side with left hand. Brownish gray background. M 2508.

*Gift of Benjamin Franklin Smith, 1919.*

Benjamin Franklin Smith, the donor of this portrait, was born in Salem in 1837, removed to Woburn in 1861 and died there in 1929. He served in the Civil War, and was married to Susan Flint. It is presumed that the portrait represents the donor's father Samuel Smith of Salem, shipmaster, who married 19 October 1835 Elizabeth Berry. She was baptized 10 February 1811, the daughter of Peter and Margaret (West) Berry. It has proved impossible to establish the dates of birth and death of this Samuel Smith, or to discover any certain record of his career at sea.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 329; *Salem Evening News*, 21 January 1929.]

128. WILLIAM STORY, 1774-1864. Oil by unknown foreign artist. Canvas, 26½ in. x 21½ in. Waist length figure, almost full face, head tilted back to left. Short fair hair and side whiskers, white stock, high-cut double-breasted white waistcoat, open dark coat with brass buttons. Right hand in opening of waistcoat. Warm gray background. M 393.

*Bequest of Eliža Story, 1885.*

William Story, merchant and master mariner, the son of Dr. Elisha Story and his first wife Ruth (Ruddock) Story, was born 18 August 1774 at Malden, whither his father had temporarily moved in anticipation of Revolutionary troubles in Boston. Shortly after the birth of his son William, Dr. Story removed to Marblehead, and in 1820 to Salem. William Story's first command was the brig *Mars*, owned by William Orne, in 1797. In 1800 he was master of the ship *Marquis de Somerulas*, and from 1801 to 1804 commanded the 342-ton ship *Friendship* of Salem during voyages to Russia, the Mediterranean and China. In 1804 Captain Story joined the East India Marine Society, and about that time presented to the Society's Museum a large rigged model of the *Friendship* which had been made by Thomas Russell with the aid of the ship's carpenter on board the *Friendship* during one of her voyages. In 1822 Captain Story was master of the brig *Cygnnet*, in 1823 master of the brig *Franklin*, in 1824 master and owner of the brig *Susan and Sarah*, and in 1826 master and owner of the schooner *Sally*. In 1827 he retired from the sea and entered the Salem Custom House as a weigher and gauger, where he remained for many years. He married 6 August 1797 Elizabeth Patten, born 6 December 1775, the daughter of John and Elizabeth (Hulen) Patten of Marblehead. She died in Salem 22 February 1856, and Captain Story died 17 March 1864, at the great age of ninety years.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 54548; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 329; *Marblehead Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 380, II, 413, 678; *E. I. H. C.*, LI (1915), 46; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 37, 65, 114, 169, 179; *History E. I. M. S.*, 57; Corey, *History of Malden*, 742; Information at Peabody Museum.]

129. SAMUEL SYMONDS, 1787-1830. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 24½ in. x 18 in. Head and shoulders, thick dark hair and short side whiskers, head turned slightly to left. High white collar, stock tied in bow knot, white waistcoat, high colored dark blue coat with brass buttons. Dark brown background. M 2915.

*Gift of Annie S. Symonds and Abbie Symonds Goss, 1923.*



Samuel Symonds was born at Danvers 15 June 1787, the son of Samuel and Sally (Phippen) Hobbs Symonds. He married 10 February 1820 Nabby Shillaber Daniels, born 8 December 1798 at Danvers, the daughter of David Daniels, a native of Medway, and his wife, Betsey (Shillaber) Daniels, who were both residents of Danvers. Captain Symonds was part owner of the *Elizabeth*, a Salisbury built schooner, in 1815. In 1822 he commanded the sloop *Merrimac Packet* and was its master and sole owner in 1824, when he was also part owner of the schooner *Agenora*. In 1827 he bought an interest in the schooner *Leader*, and in 1829 commanded the brig *Triton*. He died in Danvers in 1830.

[See *Danvers Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 90, 362, II, 285, 356, 458, 467; *Medway Vit. Rec.* (printed), 46; *Melrose City Hall Rec.*, VI, 101; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 5, 50, 105, 187; Perley, II, 329; Jameson, *History of Medway*, 471; *Harmony Grove Cemetery Rec.*; Phippen, *Phippen Genealogical Manuscript* on deposit at Essex Institute, 171, 172.]

130. THOMAS BARNARD TAYLOR, 1806-1843. Oval oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 11 in. x 9¼ in. Waist length figure, full face. Dark brown hair and short side whiskers, high collar, black stock, plaited shirt front. Gold pin, black coat and waistcoat. Dark gray background. M 3391.

*Gift of Mrs. George P. Taylor, 1918.*

Thomas Barnard Taylor, master mariner, was baptized in Salem 26 January 1806, the son of Captain George and his first wife Hannah (Peele) Taylor. His father was boatswain of the ship *America* in 1813 and master-at-arms on the private armed schooner *Frolic* in 1822. Thomas Barnard Taylor inherited his father's love for the sea and made several voyages when but a lad. He commanded the brig *Malaga* in 1836 and was master and part owner of the brig *Romp* in 1837 and 1838. On 11 March 1832 he married Catherine Andrew Morse, born about 1808 in Salem, the daughter of Edward and Lydia (Lewis) Morse. They lived at 9 Broad Street, Salem.



Captain Taylor died at Cayenne of brain fever 23 August 1843, and Mrs. Taylor died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Pond, 19 Broad Street, Salem, on 3 May 1888.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 55004; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 345, III, 376, 377, VI, 269; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XVIII, 6; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 112, 159; *Salem Evening News*, 5 May 1888; Salem Directories, 1838-1888; Harris, *Pond Genealogy*, 164.]

131. HENRY TIBBETS, circa 1760-1842. Pastel by unknown artist. Dimensions, 20 in. x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. Half length figure, head slightly to left, eyes front, dark complexion, dark brown eyes, long gray hair. Wide-brimmed beaver hat, stock with fancy bow tie, frilled shirt, low-cut yellow waistcoat with narrow blue trimming and blue coat. Spyglass under left arm, right hand in opening in waistcoat. Seascape in background with sail boat. M 2771. Neg. 1162.

*Gift of Miss M. Helen Tibbets, 1923.*

Henry Tibbets, mariner, was born in Maine about 1760. Neither his parentage nor the date of his removal to Salem have been determined. On 30 December 1784 he was married to Elizabeth Abbot of Salem. They subsequently made their home on the easterly side of Winter Street. Captain Tibbets joined the East India Marine Society in 1802, while master of the ship *Hazard*. This vessel entered Salem 1 May 1802 with a cargo of sugar, cigars and cordage from Calcutta, consigned to John and Richard Gardner, upon which a duty of more than sixteen thousand dollars was paid. A portion of Captain Tibbet's journal of this voyage has been preserved. He was one of the volunteer shipmasters who manned the *Helen*, which was hastily fitted out at Salem in 1812 for the capture of the famous *Liverpool Packet*. In 1820 Captain Tibbets was owner and master of the 73-ton sloop *Polly*. Upon his retirement from the sea he became Inspector of Customs at the Salem Custom House. He died in Salem 6 December 1842, survived by his wife, who died 28 December 1848.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 384, VI, 274; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 84; *E. I. H. C.*, II (1860), 59, IV (1862), 134, LXVII (1921), 280; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 149; *History E. I. M. S.*, 56; *Salem Register*, 20 December 1880; Osgood and Batchelder, 143.]

132. HENRY TIBBETS, 1785-1880. Oil by Van der Borcht, Antwerp, 1828. Canvas, 23½ in. x 19 in. Head and shoulders, three-quarters to left, eyes front, dark brown curling hair and short side whiskers. High white collar and stock tied in a bow knot. Dark blue coat with metal buttons. Warm neutral background. M 2954.

*Gift of Mrs. R. Frank Tibbets, 1924.*

Henry Tibbets, master mariner, was born at Salem 27 September 1785, the son of Captain Henry and Elizabeth (Abbot) Tibbets. On 8 October 1809 he married Sara Ropes, born 6 March 1789, the daughter of William Ropes of Salem, shipmaster, and Mary (Brown) Ropes. She died 16 March 1857. Captain Tibbets had an adventurous career from early life. He sailed in the privateer *America* on her first cruise 1 September 1812, and returned to the United States as prize master. He sailed again on the *America's* second voyage and was given charge of one of her prizes, which was unfortunately recaptured on the return passage to Salem. Captain Tibbets was then sent to Dartmoor Prison, where he remained for nearly two years. While there he joined the Pulaski Society, an association formed among the prisoners for the promotion of patriotism. After his return to Salem he entered the hardware business, but soon went back to sea, making voyages to Calcutta and Sumatra, and at one time commanding the *Architect* from San Francisco to Hong Kong. At the time of his death, 18 December 1880, he lived at 24 Liberty Street, Salem, and was said to have been one of the last survivors of the Dartmoor prisoners. "He was possessed of a fund of anecdotes, was an agreeable companion and an upright and honorable gentleman."

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 55274; *Salem Vit.*

*Rec.* (printed), IV, 271, 384; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 138, XV, 84; *E. I. H. C.*, VII (1865), 250, VIII (1866), 53; *Salem Gazette*, 21 December 1880; *Salem Register*, 20 December 1880; Putnam, I, 144; Salem Directories, 1837-1880; Howe and Matthews, *American Clipper Ships*, I, 20.]

133. PENN TOWNSEND, 1772-1846. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 25½ in. x 21½ in. Half length figure, full face, curling black hair parted on right side and brushed over forehead, short side whiskers. High collar, white stock, frilled white shirt, high-cut white waistcoat, black coat, pale buff trousers. Right hand holds spyglass, left arm rests on carved stone work. Seascape background with vessel at left. M 3094. Neg. 5166.

*Gift of David Pingree, 1919.*

134. PENN TOWNSEND, 1772-1846. Oval miniature by unknown artist. Dimensions, 2½ in. x 2 in. Head and shoulders three-quarters to right, eyes front. Dark curling hair and short side whiskers, dark eyes, dark complexion. White stock, white waistcoat, dark blue coat with velvet collar, brass buttons. Pale blue-gray background. M 4556. Neg. 695.

*Gift of William Crowninshield Waters, 1937.*

Penn Townsend, master mariner, was born at Salem 15 September 1772, the son of Moses Townsend and his first wife Hannah (Lambert) Townsend. He went to sea as a boy, and before he came of age was in command of a vessel. In 1793 he was master of the schooner *Olive Branch*, in 1795 of the schooner *Whim*, in 1802 of the brig *Edwin*, which brought a consignment of wine and prunes to Moses Townsend. In 1803 he was master and part owner of the brigantine *Martha*. From 1809 to 1817 he owned shares in the brigantine *Telemachus*, the brigs *Argus* and *Eunice*, of which he was also master, the ship *Alfred*, and the schooners *Joanna*, *General Stark*, *Thomas*, *Dolphin* and *Helen*. His voyages included various Mediterranean and Russian ports, and for several

years he lived at Archangel and Moscow. Later he served as a Lieutenant in the United States Revenue Service. Captain Townsend joined the Salem Marine Society 25 August 1796. During the War of 1812 he was actively engaged in privateering, owning with others several private armed vessels, some of which he commanded. Among these were the *Grumbler* and the *Macedonian*. During a voyage in the latter vessel he captured twenty-two prisoners and gained a valuable prize cargo. Captain Townsend married 1 December 1793 Mary Richardson, born 19 January 1772, the daughter of Captain Addison and Mary (Greenleaf) Richardson. She died 6 July 1824, and on 10 July 1827 he married Sarah (Cheever) Beckford, the widow of Captain Jonathan Beckford and daughter of Samuel and Sally (Ring) Cheever. Captain Townsend died 30 June 1846, at Salem, and was survived by his wife, who died on 21 November 1853, also at Salem.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 356, III, 391, VI, 278; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 107; *E. I. H. C.*, II (1860), 60, XIX (1882), 295; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 6, 13, 42, 55, 63, 82, 97, 115, 135, 176, 183, 184, 197; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 142; Perley, III, 355; Osgood-Batchelder, 195; Bentley, *Diary*, IV, 89, 295, 306; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 337; Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 416.]

135. THOMAS TREFRY, 1794-1846. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 29 in. x 24 in. Waist length figure, head three-quarters to right, eyes front. Dark complexion, brown hair brushed towards face. Black stock, frilled shirt, high cut waistcoat, dark coat, folded arms. Edge of chair shows at lower right corner. Seascape background. M 3812.

*Purchase, 1932.*

Thomas Trefry, mariner, was baptised at Marblehead 19 October 1794, probably the son of William and Mary (Thompson) Trefry. He married 29 August 1824 Sarah Procter, baptised 24 May 1801, the daughter of William and Deborah (Goss) Procter. They were the parents of seven children born at Marblehead. On 9 June 1830

Thomas Trefry sailed as mate on the eleventh voyage of the schooner *Combine*, Knott Martin, master, which took a cargo of fish from Boston to Cape Haytien and returned with coffee. In 1836 and 1837 he commanded the schooner *Splendid*, a Maine built vessel of 98 tons, running from Boston to Aux Cayes with pork and fish and laden on the return voyage with coffee and logwood. In 1837 Captain Trefry also commanded the schooner *Echo* on a voyage from Marblehead with beets, candles, potatoes, fish and soap, shipped by Ephraim Brown to E. Labastille & Company at Aux Cayes. In 1841 and 1842 Captain Trefry made several voyages to Aux Cayes with lard, fish, soap, etc. as master of the schooner *Alciope*, returning with coffee and "granadella wood" consigned to John L. Gardner, a Boston merchant. According to news received at Marblehead on 18 February 1846 Captain Trefry was drowned from the schooner *Good Exchange*. His wife survived him and was alive as late as 1868.

[See *Marblehead Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 418, 519, II, 433, 688; Bradlee, *Marblehead Foreign Commerce*, 146, 148; Lindsey, *Old Marblehead Sea Captains*, 124; *Timothy Williams' Marine Notes*, typed manuscript at Essex Institute, 34; Information at Peabody Museum.]

136. BENJAMIN UPTON, 1786-1853. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 27½ in. x 21 in. Waist length figure, head three-quarters to right and tilted back. Dark brown hair and short side whiskers, hair brushed down on forehead. High collar, white stock tied in bow knot, frilled shirt front, dark high collared coat, right hand in coat opening. Dark gray background. M 3429.

*Gift of Charles Upton, 1929.*

Benjamin Upton, shipmaster and merchant, was born in Salem 17 January 1786, the son of Paul Upton and his first wife, Rebecca (Pierce) Upton. His seafaring life was always one of adventure and his voyages were made to many foreign ports, especially to those in South America. In 1808 he sailed to Gottenburg in the schooner *Saucy Jack* of which he was part owner, bringing home a cargo of glass consigned to Timothy Wellman, Jr. Dur-



ing the first part of the War of 1812, he was part owner of the schooner *Fame*. She was a pink stern fishing boat commissioned as a privateer which brought into Salem the first prize of the war. In 1812 Captain Upton commanded the privateer *Montgomery* during her severe engagement with the British packet *Surinam*. Although Captain Upton had a crew of but eighty-nine men and twelve guns against the *Surinam's* larger complement of seamen and twenty guns, he prevented the *Surinam's* men from boarding his vessel. In the course of this battle he was severely wounded. Captain Upton was one of a patriotic band of Salem shipmasters who manned the *Henry* which brought the bodies of Captains Lawrence and Ludlow to Salem in 1813 after the historic battle between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*. The ship Registers of Salem record him as master of the brigs *Echo*, *Nancy* and *Phebe*, the ships *Mary* and *Eliza* and *Warrington*, also the schooner *Cyrus*, bringing in the latter vessel a cargo of brandy, yellow ochre and prunes from Bordeaux in 1815. He was part owner of the brigs *Mermaid*, *Eagle*, *Patriot*, *Fair American* and *Ganges* and the schooner *Naumkeag*, and sole owner of the brig *Elizabeth Felton* and the schooners *Nile*, *Roxanna* and *William Brewer* from 1840 to 1851. His son Benjamin Upton, Jr., was associated with him in the ownership of some of these vessels and in a mercantile business developed after Captain Upton had retired from active life upon the sea. This son was United States Consul at Buenos Aires and lived at Para about the time his father visited South America on several voyages. Captain Upton became a member of the Salem Marine Society in 1807. He married on 4 September 1808, Priscilla Ropes, born in 1791, the daughter of Daniel and Alice (Chever) Ropes. By her he had seven children. Mrs. Upton died 6 June 1829 and on 11 October 1831 Captain Upton married Eliza Willis, born 28 April 1794, the daughter of John and Elizabeth Willis. They had three children. She died in Salem 23 February 1870, surviving her husband who died 4 November 1853.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 55962; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 251, 370, IV, 268, 411, 412, 478, VI, 292; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 107, 262; *Salem Ship*

*Reg.*, 9, 38, 44, 45, 51, 57, 59, 68, 119, 121, 125, 126, 129, 130, 134, 141, 145, 162, 171, 195, 200; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 113, 145; Putnam, III, 108, IV, 128; Perley, I, 346, II, 378, 379; Osgood and Batchelder, 173, 174, 191, 194; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 333, 334; Vinton, *The Upton Memorial*, 106, 107, 189-191; Upton, *Upton Family Records*, 212, 232.]

137. CHARLES UPTON, 1824-1865. Oil probably by Charles Osgood, 1849. Canvas, 29 in. x 24½ in. Half length figure, full beard, high collar, black stock, plaited shirt, black satin waistcoat, black coat. Back of red chair shows at lower right. Very dark background. M 1028.

*Gift of Robert and Olive G. Upton, 1908.*

Charles Upton, master mariner, was born in Salem 28 May 1824, the son of Robert and Lucy (Doyle) Upton. He married 15 December 1844 Isabelle E. Cameron of Beverly. They lived for a number of years on Winter Street in Salem and were the parents of four children. Captain Upton was a merchant as well as a shipmaster. He sailed to Buenos Aires and other South American ports on many voyages. The Upton family were largely interested in this trade and from 1847 onward Captain Upton was associated with others of his name in the ownership of the barks *Arrow*, *Edward Koppisch*, *Swallow*, *William Schroder*, *Wyman* and *Peacock*. He was master as well as part owner of the bark *Maid of Orleans* in 1847 and of the bark *Peacock* in 1853. Captain Upton died in Salem 17 February 1865 and Mrs. Upton died in Santa Clara, California, 24 January 1870 at the age of forty-four years.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 410, 413; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 213; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 13, 46, 112, 142, 181, 201, 202; Osgood-Batchelder, 176, 177; *Salem Directory*, 1864; Vinton, *The Upton Memorial*, 319.]

138. ROBERT UPTON, 1842-1934. Oil by Charles Osgood, 1849. Canvas, 19½ in. x 15½ in. Portrait of a small boy, head and shoulders, face slightly turned towards left, eyes front, light

brown hair parted at left side. Small ruffled collar, dark jacket. Medium gray background. M 3105.

*Gift of Robert Upton, 1927.*

Robert Upton was born 15 January 1842, the son of George Upton, one time master of the bark *Chalcedony*, and his first wife, Harriet (Perkins) Upton. He married 17 June 1879 Lillie A. Drew, born at Concord, New Hampshire, 25 December 1846, the daughter of Curtis D. Drew, stone cutter, born in Holderness, New Hampshire, and his wife Mary A. (Brown) Drew, a native of Concord, New Hampshire. Mrs. Upton died at Concord, 10 January 1914 and Mr. Upton at Haverhill, Massachusetts, 8 November 1934, aged ninety-two years.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 412; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 30; *Salem Evening News*, 9 November 1934; *Perry*, II, 380; *Concord, N. H., State Dept. Vital Statistics*; Upton, *Upton Family Records*, 271; Vinton, *The Upton Memorial*, 318.]

139. AMERIGO VESPUCCI, 1451-1512. Oil copy by unknown artist of an earlier portrait. From the old Boston Museum Collection. Canvas, 25½ in. x 20½ in. Head and shoulders, profile faces right, shaven head. White undershirt, red vest buttoned high at neck, green round collared coat laced at neck, grey-purple outer coat opened. Rolled chart in right lower corner. Dark background. M 1909.

*Gift of Edward M. Raymond, 1906.*

Amerigo Vespucci, famous navigator, was born 9 March 1451 at Florence, Italy, where his father was a notary. His uncle supervised his early education and instructed him particularly in the principles of astronomy. Vespucci was a merchant as a young man, but in 1490 removed to Spain where it is said he became acquainted with Columbus. He continued his mercantile pursuits at Seville for a while, but in 1499 accompanied Ojeda the Spanish explorer to the American shores. It is admitted that he made at least four voyages to the New World but the part

allegedly discovered by him was near the Equator. He was highly acclaimed at Lisbon upon his return and acquired a great reputation for his astronomical work. He died at Seville 22 February 1512.

[See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, XXVII, 1053; Lippincott, *Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary*, 2385.]

140. BENJAMIN WALLIS, 1801-1876. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 20½ in. x 17 in. Head and shoulders, almost full face, dark brown hair brushed across forehead, parted on left side. Dark complexion, white collar, black stock, plaited shirt, three shirt studs, dark coat and low-cut green waistcoat. Black ribbon around neck falling over shirt front. Dark gray background. M 2041.

*Gift of Mrs. Charles H. Woodbury, 1914.*

Benjamin Wallis, often called Junior, was born in Beverly 12 October 1801, the son of Benjamin Wallis and his first wife Nabby (Obear) Wallis. He married at Beverly 10 April 1825 Mary Davis Cook, born 6 September 1804 at Beverly, the daughter of William and Nancy Cook. He sailed in 1822 as seaman on the third voyage of the *Leander* under Charles Roundy of Beverly, between Salem, Batavia, Canton and Singapore. Captain Wallis commanded the bark *Zotoff*, or "Old Soft Tack," as she was nicknamed by the sailors, on four voyages to the Fiji Islands to load with bêche-de-mer, which was then a profitable cargo. His wife accompanied him on the last two trips, covering the period from 1844 to 1850, and she published in Boston in 1851 a narrative of her experiences among the cannibals of those islands, entitled *Life in Feejee*. Captain Wallis was part owner in 1850 of the schooner *Thakombau*, named for a Feejee chief, and from 1858 to 1865 was part owner of the schooner *Montezuma*. He was also master and part owner of the bark *Maid of Orleans* in 1851. He died in Beverly 14 July 1876, surviving his wife who died 18 June 1865.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Dockets 56207, 56209; *Beverly Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 87, 351, II, 71, 323;



*Beverly City Hall Rec.*; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 112, 125, 183, 203; *Salem Gazette*, 18 July 1876; Putnam, I, 115, IV, 161-163; Osgood-Batchelder, 170; Wallis, *Life in Feejee*.]

141. ANDREW WARD, 1793-1860. Oil by Charles Osgood, 1846. Canvas, 29½ in. x 24½ in. Half length figure, full face, iron gray hair parted on left, short side whiskers. Turned down collar, black stock and coat, black satin waistcoat. Left arm and hand rest on arm of red chair. M 2095.  
*Deposited by Family through C. A. Spence, 1913.*

Andrew Ward, merchant and master mariner, was born 29 October 1793, the son of Andrew and Martha (Babage) Ward. He was one of the best known of Salem's sea captains, and made many voyages to South America, Zanzibar, Ceylon, Bombay and ports on the Red Sea. He married 11 July 1819 Abigail Richardson Abbott, born 9 January 1796 at Hollis, New Hampshire, the daughter of Benjamin and Sarah (Wright) Abbott, who were residents of Hollis. In 1824 Andrew Ward was master of the brig *Pioneer* during a voyage to South America. A few years later he commanded the three-masted schooner *Spy*, which arrived at Salem 11 August 1827 with a cargo consigned to N. L. Rogers and Brothers, the first vessel to enter at Salem from Zanzibar. In 1832 he was master and part owner of the ship *Shepardess*. In 1837 he commanded the brig *Waverly*, and for several years from 1839 he was part owner as well as master of the ship, later altered to bark, *Brenda*. In March 1844 he entered at Salem from Zanzibar in command of the *Brenda* with a cargo of dates and other merchandise consigned to Michael Shepard. During the forties and fifties Captain Ward was part owner of the brigs *Ratler* and *Potomac* and the barks *Tom Corwin*, *Said bin Sultan*, *Eben Dodge*, *Elizabeth Hall*, *Emily Wilder*, *Iosco* and *Peacock*. He joined the East India Marine Society in September 1830 and the Salem Marine Society in October 1846. Captain and Mrs. Ward lived for many years at 123 Federal Street, Salem. He died 2 August 1860 and she on 30 March 1877.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 388, IV, 432;



*Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 168, XV, 41; *E. I. H. C.*, V (1863), 211, 215; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 24, 44, 51, 52, 78, 92, 132, 142, 146, 150, 154, 163, 173, 175, 186, 197; *History E. I. M. S.*, 63; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 150; Putnam, IV, 31; Perley, II, 106; Osgood-Batchelder, 163, 165, 180; Abbott, *Register of the Abbott Family*, 65; Cooke, *The Driver Family*, 239, 240; Worcester, *History of Hollis, New Hampshire*, 304.]

142. WILLIAM RAYMOND LEE WARD, 1811-1897. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas,  $24\frac{3}{4}$  in. x  $19\frac{3}{4}$  in. Head and shoulders of elderly man, three-quarters to right, eyes look towards right. Fair hair, slightly bald, full beard and moustache, high white collar, small black bow tie, double-breasted black coat. Warm gray background. M 358.  
*Gift of Raymond Lee Ward, 1889.*

William Raymond Lee Ward, merchant, was born in Salem 6 August 1811, the son of Samuel Curwen Ward and his second wife, Malvina Tabitha (Glover) Ward. Mr. Ward's youth was spent in Salem where he attended the public schools. He worked first in the counting room of Joseph White, after whose death he continued with Stephen White, a nephew. During this latter connection, he made several voyages to the West Indies. He finally removed from Salem to New York and there engaged in various enterprises as a broker and merchant, also making business connections in Maryland, Buffalo and Washington. He married at Buffalo 31 December 1839, Sophia Ann Langdon, the daughter of John and Charlotte (Ladd) Langdon of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. They were the parents of two sons and a daughter. Mrs. Ward died at Salem 4 February 1855 at the age of thirty-seven years. Mr. Ward's second wife, whom he married in New York 9 December 1856, was Mrs. Eliza (Symmes) Thorne, widow of John Thorne of Brooklyn, New York, and the daughter of Andrew Elliott and Elizabeth (Coffin) Symmes. During his residence in Massachusetts Mr. Ward was one of the promoters of the Beverly Gas Company and of the Salem and South Danvers Railroad. He was a member of the Salem Zouaves and assisted in the

movement to save the *Constitution*. He rose to the rank of Major before the close of the Civil War and at the time of his death was the oldest member of the Salem Light Infantry as well as of the East India Marine Society, which he had joined in 1834. He died in New York City 23 December 1897.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 393, IV, 435, VI, 305; *Nantucket Vit. Rec.* (printed), III, 263; *E. I. H. C.*, V (1863), 213, LXXII (1936), 301, 302; *History E. I. M. S.*, 63; *Salem Register*, 8 February 1855; *Salem Evening News*, 27 December 1897; Ladd, *The Ladd Family*, 49.]

143. ABIEL WARDWELL, 1771-1821. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 25 in. x 21 in. Waist length figure, three-quarters to right, eyes front, dark hair brushed back from forehead. High white collar, black stock, plaited shirt, large circular shirt pin. Dark coat and waistcoat, dividers in right hand, chart in lower right corner of picture. M 3076.

*Purchase, 1926.*

Abiel Wardwell, master mariner, was born in Andover 25 August 1771, the son of Solomon and Bethiah (Holt) Wardwell. He married 28 April 1800 Hannah Elledge, who died 18 October 1805 at the age of twenty-six years. His second wife, whom he married 20 January 1811, was Esther Andrews. She was baptised in Boxford 21 December 1777, the daughter of Jacob and Mary (Holt) Andrews, who had previously been married to Jacob's brother, Nathaniel Andrews. Abiel Wardwell was at one time master of the 108-ton schooner *Betsey*, built at Salem in 1792 and altered to a brig in 1799. In 1810 and 1811 he is recorded as commanding Nathaniel West's brig *Astrea*, in 1818 the brig *Eunice* and in 1819 the brig *Brittania*. Captain Wardwell died at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1821, leaving his wife and two minor children. Mrs. Wardwell remained in Salem, living for a time on Central Street and later in Phelps Court. She died in Salem 5 June 1861.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 28932; *Salem Vit.*

*Rec.* (printed), IV, 436, VI, 309; *Andover Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 373; *Boxford Vit. Rec.* (printed), 8; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 175; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 14, 19, 24, 55; *Salem Directories*, 1837-1859; *Durrie, Holt Family*, 34, 35; *Log of the brig Eunice at Essex Institute.*]

144. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732-1799. Oil on glass after Gilbert Stuart. Dimensions, 19 in. x 17 in. Head and shoulders, face slightly to right, long gray hair tied in queue, blue eyes, ruddy complexion, straight mouth. High white stock with frill, dark blue coat, white collar. Dark gray background. M 4062.

*Gift of Essex Institute, 1934.*

George Washington, first President of the United States, was a native of Virginia, born 22 February 1732 at Bridges' Creek, the son of Augustine and Mary (Ball) Washington. He married 6 January 1759 Martha (Dandridge) Custis, widow of John Parke Custis and daughter of John Dandridge. He died 14 December 1799 at his home "Mount Vernon" in Virginia, and Mrs. Washington died 22 May 1802.

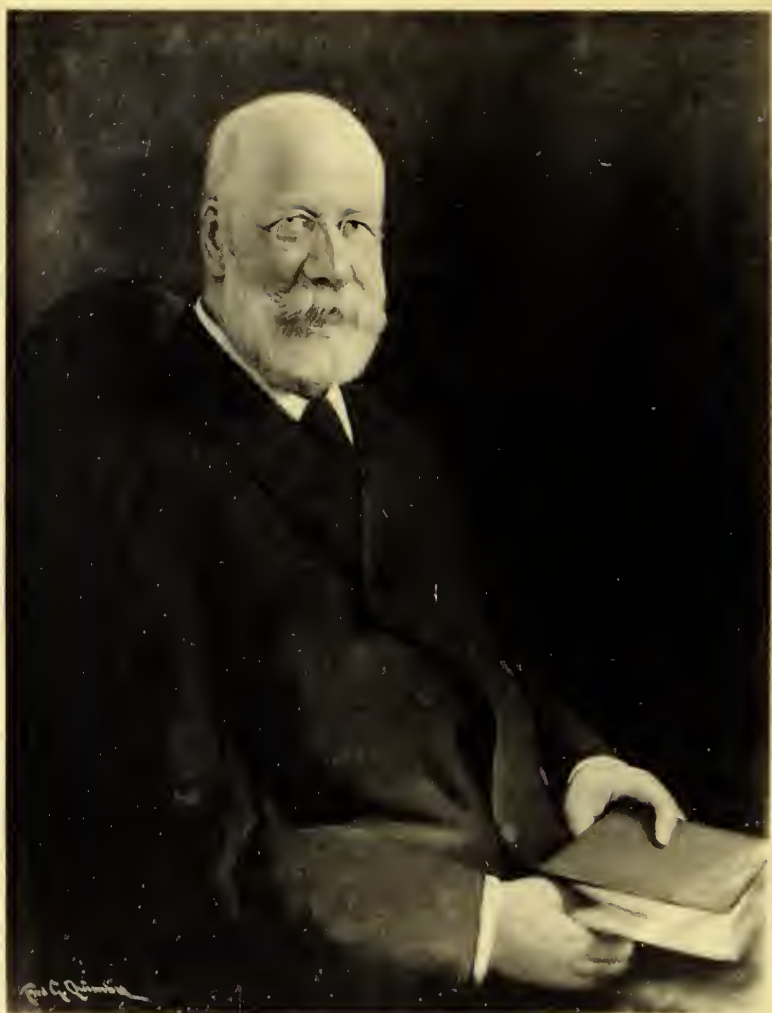
[See Lippincott, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2431; Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 959; Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, IV, 383.]

145. PENN TOWNSEND WATERS, 1829-1852. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 17½ in. x 12¼ in. Full length figure, eyes and face nearly front, thick curling dark hair worn full over ears. High white collar, stud in shirt, black stock, dark brown coat and waistcoat, gray blue trousers. Right hand holds cane, brown pillar and globe at right. Rocks and seascape with vessels and sky in background. M 4377.

*Gift of William Crowninshield Waters, 1937.*

Penn Townsend Waters, mariner, the son of Joseph Gilbert and Eliza Greenleaf (Townsend) Waters, was born 28 March 1829 and baptized in Salem 26 April 1833. He was a sailor, and was lost at sea in 1852.





CHARLES GODDARD WELD

No. 146



[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 398, IV, 440; *E. I. H. C.*, XIX (1882), 296; *Essex Co. Genealogies*, manuscript at Essex Institute, 145.]

146. CHARLES GODDARD WELD, 1857-1911. Oil by Fred G. Quimby, 1918. Canvas, 39½ in. x 29¼ in. Three-quarters length seated figure facing right, eyes front, gray beard and hair, wears spectacles. Dark gray double-breasted suit. Holds book in hand. Dark background. M 2285. Neg. 408.  
*Gift of Mrs. Charles Goddard Weld, 1918*

Charles Goddard Weld was born at Brookline, Massachusetts, 20 August 1857, the son of William Gordon and Caroline Langdon (Goddard) Weld. He was admitted to Harvard College with the Class of 1879, but left in 1876 and entered the Harvard Medical School, where he studied for the next three years, receiving the degree of M. D. in 1881. After leaving the Medical School he did surgical work at the Massachusetts General and the Carney Hospitals in Boston, and for a few years was in charge of the Chambers Street Hospital in New York. Retiring early from active practice, Dr. Weld travelled extensively and became deeply interested in the art and culture of Japan. This interest led to many generous gifts to the Peabody Museum of Salem, including an enormous number of ethnological objects and, in 1906, the building of Weld Hall, primarily designed to give adequate space for the exhibition of the Museum's Japanese collections. Dr. Weld was also a keen sportsman. He was married 11 April 1900 to Hannah Putnam Train of Duxbury, the daughter of William Graham and Mary Elizabeth Train. He died at his home in Brookline 18 June 1911 after a brief illness.

[See *Class of 1879 Harvard College, Secretary's Report No. VIII* (1914), 407-408; *Boston Transcript*, 19 June 1911; *Salem Evening News*, 20 June, 17 July 1911.]

147. ADAM WELLMAN, 1744-1786. Oval miniature by unknown artist. Dimensions, 2¾ in. x 1⅞ in. Half length figure of young man, head turned

slightly to right, light hair, fair complexion. White stock tied in bow knot, deep orange waistcoat with narrow black stripes, dark blue coat with brass buttons. Seascape background with headland and lighthouse to left, vessel to right. Two figures in row boat in middle distance. M 3142. Neg. 5001.

*Bequest of Miss Mary A. Kimball, 1927.*

Adam Wellman, shipmaster and Revolutionary soldier, was born in Salem about 1744, probably the son of Timothy and Rebecca (Scarlett) Wellman. He lived during his youth in Becket's Lane in Salem. In 1767 and 1768 he was sailing as master of the schooner *Thomas* to the West Indies and Dominico. He married at Salem 6 December 1767 Margaret Lambert, born in Salem about 1747, the daughter of Jonathan and Lydia (Randall) Lambert. She died of smallpox in October 1773. His second wife, whom he married at Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, 6 February 1776, was Mercy (Mascoll) Stevens, the widow of Thomas Stevens and daughter of Joseph and Ruth Mascoll of Salem. She was born about 1738 and died in Salem 20 April 1828. During the Revolution he served as Lieutenant in the schooner *Success*, a privateer owned by Jonathan Peele, Jr. and others of Salem. From 1780 to 1782 Captain Wellman commanded the privateer brigantines *Rover* and *Hasket and John*, and the privateer schooner *Jackall*. On 29 December 1786 the news was received in Salem that he had died of fever while abroad.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 29260; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 347, 449, VI, 319, 320; *Early Shipping*, 182; *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War*, XVI, 831, 853; *Massachusetts Census* (1790), 98; Allen, *Massachusetts Privateers in the Revolution*, 167, 191, 268; Wellman, *Descendants of Thomas Wellman*, 104, 168.]

148. TIMOTHY WELLMAN, 1776-1823. Oval pastel by unknown artist. Dimensions, 13¾ in. x 11 in. Portrait of young man, three-quarters to left, eyes slightly to left, thick reddish brown hair,

white stock and waistcoat, blue coat, velvet collar, warm gray background. M 3140. Neg. 5167.

*Bequest of Miss Mary A. Kimball, 1927.*

149. TIMOTHY WELLMAN, 1776-1823. Oval miniature painted at Cronstadt, 1803. Dimensions,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. x  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. Head and shoulders of young man, three-quarters to left, eyes front, swarthy complexion, brown hair brushed back. Short side whiskers, white stock, double-breasted white waistcoat, double-breasted blue coat with velvet collar. Stippled medium gray background. M 3141. Neg. 2246.

*Bequest of Miss Mary A. Kimball, 1927.*

Timothy Wellman, master mariner, was born at Salem 12 September 1776, the son of Captain Adam Wellman and his second wife, Mercy (Mascoll) Stevens Wellman, widow of Thomas Stevens and daughter of Joseph and Ruth Mascoll. He married at Salem 28 January 1800, Abigail Browne, born at Salem 13 April 1775, the daughter of Nathaniel and Anna (Messervey) Browne. They lived on Derby Street, Salem, and were the parents of five children. Captain Wellman joined the Salem Marine Society 26 November 1796 and the East India Marine Society in November 1803. He engaged in privateering during the War of 1812 and commanded the ship *Alexander*. His commission on this vessel, dated 3 October 1812, is at the Peabody Museum. After the war Captain Wellman was in the merchant marine service until 1823, when he sold his ship abroad and sailed for home with Captain Cheever of Salem. They were lost at sea, and, as no news was ever reported from the ship or men, they were given up for dead early in 1824. Captain Wellman's estate was administered upon by his son Adam and was of considerable value. Mrs. Wellman survived him, and died 17 January 1860. She was then living on Essex Street in Salem.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 29281; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 408, IV, 450, VI, 321; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 6; *History E. I. M. S.*, 57; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 141; *Salem Gazette*, 20 January, 1860; *Salem Directory*,

1859; Wellman, *Descendants of Thomas Wellman*, 242; Information at Peabody Museum.]

150. NATHANIEL WEST, 1756-1851. Oil by Charles Robert Leslie. Canvas, 35 in. x 27 in. Half length seated figure of elderly man, head three-quarters to left, eyes looking up, head tilted slightly to left. Gray hair, short side whiskers, ruddy complexion, white stock and ruffled shirt. High cut satin waistcoat, double-breasted black coat. Holds letter in left hand, arm rests on arm of chair. Brown background. M 367. Neg. 5168.

*Gift of Salem Marine Society, 1889.*

Nathaniel West, master mariner, Revolutionary soldier and distinguished Salem merchant, was born in Salem 31 January 1756, the son of William and Mary (Beckford) West. As early as 1775 he commanded a merchant vessel in the West India trade, but his ship was unfortunately captured by a British frigate and he was compelled to serve as a midshipman. He escaped in London and managing somehow to get to Lisbon, embarked for home in the *Oliver Cromwell*, a Salem privateer, in which he afterwards made several cruises. He married 23 May 1783 Elizabeth Derby, born 29 September 1762, the daughter of Elias Hasket and Elizabeth (Crowninshield) Derby. She died in Danvers 9 March 1814. They had six children. His second wife, whom he married at Andover 25 June 1816, was Julia Houghton, a widow. They made their home at 9 Summer Street, Salem. She died 11 March 1844 at the age of sixty-six years. Captain West had an adventurous career upon the sea during the Revolution. He was associated with Captain Haraden in a number of encounters with the British and in 1778 and 1779 was commander of the privateers *Black Hawk* and *Three Sisters*. In 1781 the ships *Marquis* and *Junius*, also in the privateering service were commanded by him. While in command of the Derby owned ship *Astrea*, he brought to Salem the first news of the close of the War. Subsequently Captain West established commercial relations with China and the East Indies, and in 1792 built



the schooner *Patty*, which, under the command of his brother Edward, was the first American vessel to enter the port of Batavia. Captain West's ship *Prudent* traded with the Dutch Spice Islands and his ship *Minerva* was said to be the first vessel from Salem to make a voyage around the world. He also owned the ship *Hercules* of 290 tons, which was built at Haverhill in 1805. Captain West was an imposing figure as he walked the streets of Salem, a gentleman of the old school in manners and dress. He practised frugality and untiring industry for a lifetime, often saying: "Without these none can be rich, and with these few would be poor." He died in Salem 19 December 1851, a veteran of ninety-six years, making in his will generous provision for the Salem Marine Society of which he became a member in 1780.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 412, IV, 455, VI, 324; *Andover Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 344; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 203, IV (1862), 135; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 104, 138; Allen, *Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution*, 84, 195, 215, 232, 302.]

151. RICHARD WHEATLAND, 1762-1830. Oil copy from an original portrait in the possession of Richard Wheatland. Canvas, 23½ in. x 18 in. Head and shoulders, almost full face, eyes front, dark hair, short side whiskers, pale complexion. White stock and waistcoat, dark coat buttoned up. Gray background. M 1751. Neg. 3241.

*Gift of George Wheatland, Jr., 1913.*

Richard Wheatland was born 20 October 1762 at Wareham, County Dorset, England, the son of Peter and Bridget (Foxcroft) Wheatland. He lived in London as a boy and later spent three years in the British Navy, being stationed principally in the West Indies. He came to Salem in 1784, where he became a shipmaster and eventually a merchant. His first wife, whom he married 28 December 1787, was Margaret, daughter of Captain William Silver. She died 13 June 1789 at the age of twenty-six years. He married 29 October 1796 Martha Goodhue, born 2 February 1770, the daughter of Stephen



and Martha (Prescott) Goodhue. She died in Salem 10 August 1826. One of their sons was Dr. Henry Wheatland, one time President of the Essex Institute. In 1794 and 1795 Captain Wheatland commanded the brig *Vigilant* on a voyage to Cork and Cadiz and while still master of this vessel he entered at Salem in 1798 with a pioneer cargo from Archangel, Russia. On 1 January 1799 Captain Wheatland wrote to his owners that while in the brig *Perseverance*, after a trip to Havana, he was boarded by the British frigate *Romilla*, but was allowed to proceed. He was subsequently chased in the Straits of Bahama by a French privateer which finally caught up with him. The two vessels then engaged in a terrific battle in which the *Perseverance* came out victorious with little damage. The French schooner was hard hit. Captain Wheatland actively followed the sea until about 1800, at which time he joined the East India Marine Society and engaged in mercantile business in Salem. He became part owner of the ships *Argonaut*, *Eliza*, *Endeavour* and *Louisa*, the brigs *Augusta* and *Moses* and the schooner *Rising States*. He died at Salem 18 March 1830.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 457, VI, 325; *E. I. H. C.*, XXX (1893), 127, 128; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 12, 14, 48, 52, 108, 126, 143, 157, 194; *History E. I. M. S.*, 55; Putnam, I, 140; Osgood-Batchelder, 138; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 309; Goodhue, *The Goodhue Family*, 55; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XLVIII (1894), 226, 227; Hurd, *History of Essex County*, II (1888), 68; Journal of brig *Vigilant* at Essex Institute.]

(To be continued)

## BOOK REVIEWS

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MARY LYON, THROUGH HER LETTERS. As Edited by Marion Lansing. 1937. 317 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. Price, \$2.00.

We naturally refer to Mary Lyon as the founder of Mount Holyoke College, and as one of the influential workers in the inception of Wheaton College, but Miss Lansing stresses the fact that she was much more than that. These letters, which have been so skillfully edited, disclose the firm conviction in the mind of Miss Lyon that women's education would never come into its own until it was established on the same basis of public endowment and permanent foundation as the men's colleges. Essex County seems to have furnished more of a background for her work than many realize. Miss Lyon taught at Byfield Academy, which was conducted by Rev. Joseph Emerson, whose health had failed while preaching in Beverly. Then at Ipswich Female Seminary she developed with Miss Zilpah Grant, a school with more than a local reputation. In fact, it was in Miss Lyon's parlor at the Ipswich school that the plans for Mount Holyoke Seminary were first discussed. She writes: "Dr. Packard came here last Wednesday evening and left this morning. We talked much of the time, for three days, respecting the proposed seminary. Revs. Dana and Packard, Professor Hitchcock, Rev. Mr. Felt, Mr. George W. Heard, Mr. David Choate, and General Howland were appointed a committee to make a commencement." The ladies of Ipswich contributed, in small amounts, four hundred and seventy-five dollars, in answer to her widespread appeal for funds. Daniel Safford, formerly of Salem, but then a prosperous Boston business man, was one of Miss Lyon's constant supporters. In this volume is the fascinating story of the woman who has left an enduring influence on the education of all time. Recommended to all libraries.

BEYOND NEW ENGLAND THRESHOLDS. Photographs and Comments by Samuel Chamberlain. 1937. 96 pp., folio, cloth, illus. New York City: Hastings House. Price, \$4.00.

Mr. Chamberlain has added another valuable and entertaining book to his series on old houses. This latest volume portrays the transitions from pioneer days through much of the Federal period. There are photographs of the inter-

iors of the most attractive homes of the time, which give a real cross-section of American history, taste and manners. Such material is exceedingly difficult to gather and the results are most satisfying. Details of houses in Topsfield, Beverly, Saugus, Ipswich, Newbury, Gloucester, Rockport, Salem, Marblehead, Danvers and Newburyport are included, as well as those of other towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire. The illustrations are beautiful, and should appeal to everyone interested in interior furnishings. Strongly recommended to the architect, the decorator and the home builder. All libraries should have a copy.

PIONEER IRISH IN NEW ENGLAND. By Michael J. O'Brien, LL.D. 1937. 325 pp., small octavo, cloth. New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons. Price, \$3.00.

Dr. O'Brien was incited to write this book by the published statement of a critic who objected to his claim that "large numbers of Irish were in New England in the seventeenth century." He was also irked by statements of Palfrey and Lodge, that the English inhabitants of New England were a homogeneous people. He claims that these historians had purposely ignored the Irish, from prejudice. Thereupon, Dr. O'Brien digs down deep into some of the seventeenth century records—town, court and vital—and comes up with the names of about six hundred from the beginning of the settlement to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. No one who has worked on old records will deny that there were some Irish here in the seventeenth century. It would seem, however, that these six hundred must have been quite submerged in the population of 158,000, which Palfrey gives to the New England states up to 1715. Waters' *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, the *Chancery Depositions* and other public records, show many of these names in seventeenth century England. William Mullins, according to the Probate Court Book lived in Dorking, Surrey; John Cogan, according to Lechford's Note Book, had a mother living in Tiverton, Devonshire; Henry Collins embarked from London on the *Abigail*. The fact is that it is next to impossible, without absolute proof, to determine whence these people came. Dr. O'Brien, in his enthusiasm, has taken much for granted. He cites Philip Welch, an Irish redemptioner, who came to Ipswich in 1635. For ten generations the Welches married into English families.

Would Col. Joseph Welch. of Revolutionary fame, be included in a list of Irish patriots? Professor Samuel E. Morison of Harvard well sums up the matter: "Equally false are two contrasting notions: the one that New England was of 'pure Anglo-Saxon stock' at the Revolution; the other that the Revolution was an Irish movement. These are the pet lapdogs of modern race snobbery. The seventeenth century stock completely absorbed its eighteenth century accretions, both English and non-English. To outsiders, as late as 1824, the population of seaboard Massachusetts seemed, and was, racially homogeneous as that of Brittany. But the race was not Anglo-Saxon, or Irish. It was Yankee, a new Nordic amalgam on an English Puritan base."

LETTERS OF JOHN DAVENPORT, PURITAN DIVINE. Edited by Isabel MacBeath Calder, Associate Professor of History in Wells College. 1937. 301 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven: Published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by Yale University Press. Price, \$3.00.

It is well to have all the known letters of John Davenport brought together in one volume. A study of these letters cannot fail to add to the knowledge of New England Puritanism. A fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies has made this possible. Miss Calder contributes a comprehensive biography of this famous New England minister,—his early life in England, his sojourn in Holland, and his subsequent years in the New Haven Colony. The letters herewith published relate to the last named period, many of which were written to John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of the adjacent Connecticut Colony. Davenport held tenaciously all his life to the practice that the right to vote and to hold office in both town and colony governments should be rigidly limited to church members. Liberal thought in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs had no place in his makeup. This volume is especially interesting as it shows the views of an early seventeenth century conservative, ideas which were fast becoming distasteful to the people of New England.

THE FORMATION OF THE NEW ENGLAND RAILROAD SYSTEMS. A study of Railroad Combinations in the Nineteenth Century. By George Pierce Baker, Assistant Professor of Transportation, Graduate School of Business Admin-



istration, Harvard University. 1937. 283 pp., octavo, cloth, maps and charts. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.50.

This comprehensive study of New England railroads covers a field which, up to this time, has never been brought out in such extended detail. Some spade work had been done upon distinct railroad lines, including the pioneering that Francis B. C. Bradlee did on the Eastern, the Boston and Maine, the Boston and Lowell, the Nashua and Lowell, and the Salem and Lowell; his findings were published by the Essex Institute between 1917 and 1921. Professor Baker has done a thorough job and has done it so well that his work provides an historical background for a consideration of contemporary problems of railroad combinations in New England. It also offers material that may lead to further knowledge of the forces behind railroad combinations as an economic institution. Aside from its extreme value as a transportation study, it is a fascinating story of the days when New England trains stopped at "way stations," when every little village was at least a flag station, when railroads really accommodated the public with frequent trains, and competing lines, while not always profitable, certainly increased the opportunity for local travel. The chapter on the Boston and Maine, with its maps and charts, is of particular interest to people of Essex County. Gradually the county became a network of railroad lines, with an almost unbelievable number of stops. Some towns, like Danvers, where competing roads crossed, had eight stations within its borders. All this is now a matter of history. The trolley-car and later the automobile finished this era in New England transportation. The multitudes interested in early railroading will wish to own this volume. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

EARLY AMERICAN DOORWAYS. By I. T. Frary. 1937. 193 pp., large quarto, cloth, illus. Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Publishers. Price, \$5.00.

Doorways are always fascinating, sentimentally and architecturally. These photographs Mr. Frary has collected on numerous trips through North America during which countless old houses have been inspected for interesting and beautiful doorways. Part I, covers the New England states, with Salem's Chestnut and Federal Streets well represented, as also are Portsmouth, Newburyport, Deerfield, Duxbury, New



Bedford, Plymouth, in Massachusetts; Wethersfield, New London, Old Lyme, in Connecticut; and Providence and Newport in Rhode Island. Part II includes the Middle and South Atlantic States. Part III covers West of the Alleghanies; Part IV, the Southwest; and Part V, Canada. Doorways were patterned after those of England. The designs were brought over by men trained in the fashion of the time and in books of designs, such as those of Batty Langley, Robert Morris and William Paine. After the Revolution, with returning prosperity, writes Mr. Frary: "Towns like Boston and Salem were rejuvenated and under the skilled hands of Charles Bulfinch, Samuel McIntire and others, an architecture of the utmost refinement was developed, following the fashion set by the Brothers Adam in England." More than 175 full page photographs of truly beautiful examples of doorways. Recommended to all libraries.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC JONES WISTAR, 1827-1905.** Half a Century in War and Peace. 1937. viii + 528 pp., cloth, large octavo, illus. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. Price, \$5.00.

This is the story of a remarkable nineteenth century personality. The autobiography remained sealed for thirty-two years after his death, and, as now published, gives us the colorful character of a colorful period, from the days of the Forty-Niners to the early industrialists. Written privately for his family, it tells with especial frankness of the opening of the Far West. The Wistars were originally from Germany, and there is included a history of the family, which became one of wealth and importance in this country. In commercial and scientific circles General Wistar was a prominent figure, having endowed the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology in Philadelphia. The book is full of thrills and sheds new light on historical controversies of the Civil War period. It also gives naturalists one of the few eyewitness accounts of the virgin wonderland of the Northwest by a nature lover who literally blazed its trails.

**A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF SOME BRANCHES OF THE LAKE FAMILY IN AMERICA.** With particular reference to the Antecedents and Descendants of Richard Lake, Georgia Pioneer. By Devereux Lake. 1937. 256 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Lorain, Ohio: Privately printed.

This genealogy includes those branches of the Lake family

descended from Richard Lake who died in Greene County, Georgia, in 1799 or 1800. According to tradition, Richard and his wife Sarah Landon of Guilford, Connecticut, migrated to North Carolina in 1784, and ten years later settled in Georgia. Although the compiler does not claim to be a genealogist, yet he has produced a valuable and interesting volume, profusely illustrated with portraits, which should appeal strongly to all descendants. Included are notes on other branches of the Lake family which will prove helpful. The foreword is by Arthur Adams of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. An index would have added to its usefulness.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE PISCATAQUA. Houses and Gardens of the Portsmouth District of Maine and New Hampshire. By John Mead Howells, with an Introduction by William Lawrence Bottomley. 1937. 217 pp., folio, cloth, illus. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc. Price, \$10.00.

It was a happy thought that suggested this book on the old days of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and its environs. And the marvel of it all is that there were, in that region, so many beautiful houses to portray. Mr. Howell has produced a work of much value, with three hundred reproductions of exteriors and interiors, of some of the most noteworthy houses, some with measured drawings included. A history of each house is given, which adds to the general interest, and much care has been taken to have the statements accurate. Memoranda is given as to the early Portsmouth builders and of possible architects and sources of design, and Mr. Bottomley adds a chapter on methods of design and construction of our early days, which is illuminating. There is also a bibliography of books on architecture in America prior to 1830. The long list of advance subscribers to this outstanding volume testifies to the appreciation of the author's work. It is a book which all lovers of fine old houses throughout the country, and particularly those who are familiar with the Piscataqua country, will wish to own. Strongly recommended to schools of architecture and all American libraries.

DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM SHERMAN OF MARSHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS. By Mary Lovering Holman. Compiled for Harriett Grace Scott of Brookline, Massachusetts.

1936. 529 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Privately printed. Address the compiler, Watertown, Massachusetts. Price, \$20.00.

This genealogy is a thorough piece of work, as is to be expected from such a well-known and accurate genealogist as Mrs. Holman. In addition to all male descendants, nearly all females up to the sixth generation are also carried forward, which gives an unusually complete record. Much biographical material is included, a great asset in any family history. The full index is a model for every compiler to follow. Recommended to all genealogical libraries.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By Stella H. Sutherland. 1936. 353 pp., octavo, cloth, maps and charts. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$3.50.

This volume gives perhaps as comprehensive an idea of the population of the thirteen colonies in the 1770's as has been published. The study is the result of an investigation conducted in state capitols, historical society archives, and public and private libraries, to obtain census returns, often when no actual returns are available. Miss Sutherland has succeeded admirably, and furnishes many dot maps to illustrate the distribution. There are some surprises. The largest town in New England was Newport, R. I., with 9,163. The normal population of Boston was 16,000, but when the port was closed it dwindled to 2,719. Next was New Haven with 8,295, and Norwich with 7,327. In the six thousand class were, in this order: Dartmouth (New Bedford) and Farmington. In the five thousand class were, in this order: New London, Stratford, Stonington, Salem, Woodbury, Hartford. In the four thousand class were, in this order: Gloucester, Ipswich, Portsmouth, Marblehead. In Essex County, Newbury and Newburyport had each slightly over 3,000, and in the two thousand class were included, Andover, Haverhill, Lynn (including Lynnfield), and Danvers. This volume is recommended to all libraries in the country.

ARCTIC HARPOONER. A Voyage on the Schooner Abbie Bradford, 1878-1879. By Robert Ferguson, Edited by Leslie Dalrymple Stair. Illustrated by Paul Quinn. 1938. 216 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Price, \$2.00.

For those who love the sea, and especially stories of the

thrilling experiences of whaling, this latest book of Robert Ferguson's will meet their full expectations. Ferguson was a native Scot who came to Philadelphia with his parents and went to sea at the age of seventeen. The volume is written in most interesting narrative form from the original diaries which the author kept on board ship. Here we read about floating icebergs, unbelievable cold, wild prowling animals, lack of food, solitude, the wreck of another whaler close by, the long and terrible winter ice-locked on Marble Island; also the charm and friendliness of the Eskimos, the exciting chase for whales. The illustrations of whaling scenes are particularly good.

THE  
ESSEX INSTITUTE  
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXIV—JULY, 1938

ISSUED QUARTERLY



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# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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VOL. LXXIV

JULY, 1938

No. 3

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WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

BY WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

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William Crowninshield Endicott, President of the Essex Institute and Vice-President of the Peabody Museum of Salem, died at 163 Marlborough Street, Boston, on 28 November 1936. The first day of December his funeral was held at Grace Church, Salem, a stone's throw away from the house at 365 Essex Street where he had been born on 28 September 1860. This burial service, unlike any other in the experience of Salem, is best described in the words of a participant and old friend, Bishop Lawrence. "A company, unique in its variety of interests and personalities, filled the church; each one had his or her own personal reason for their presence there. The dominant note was affection and a pride in their friendship with one who in himself gathered up the memories of generations, and represented in himself the end of an era." In the weeks which followed, certain friends gave words to the feelings shared by a multitude of others, and in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of 11 December the following tribute by Ellery Sedgwick was published.

"For many citizens Boston will be a sadder place to live in now that William Crowninshield Endicott is gone. There are few in our generation remotely like him, and to many of us he was the most definite living link with the era of our fathers. It was not merely that he believed in the old ways and the old standards: he was the embodiment of them. The inheritor of a great New England tradition, he felt a personal responsibility that that tradition should not die. He represented a society which

had its obligations as well as its pleasures, and of that society he knew that manners are not an ornament but the essential core. The most social of human beings, his doors were wide open to strangers, and for his friends there was no hospitality like his. The Farm at Danvers, where the long windows of the parlor looked out on the loveliness of an ancient garden, and the Victorian drawing-room at 163 Marlborough Street, with its old-fashioned elegance, seemed alike always full of friends, friends in troops, friends in legion; and if friendship is the test of life, I cannot name a happier life than his. For fifty years he had known everybody in the great world, and in the little world — which, after all, he loved best — his affections were hoops of steel. His interests ranged widely — art, history, biography, politics, the changing order. But it was his gusto for living which made him so necessary to our well-being. There were within him infinite layers of anecdote and reminiscence, one leading to another, and as he unrolled them, that deep, reverberant laugh of his always met its instantaneous response. A large-hearted, obstinate, charitable, enthusiastic, delightful man: his business was to give pleasure and rich was his success."

Both through his father, Judge William Crowninshield Endicott—a descendant in the eighth generation from Governor John Endecott—and through his mother, Ellen Peabody, William Crowninshield Endicott the Younger inherited a great New England tradition. Surrounded by witnesses to that tradition he passed his childhood, remaining in Salem until 1879, when, as good New Englanders should, he entered Harvard College. He was graduated in 1883, and after a few months of European travel, went into the Salem law office of Tuckerman, Huntington and Fitz. In the autumn of 1884 he entered the Harvard Law School, but the following year returned to the Salem law firm, and in 1886 was admitted to the Essex County Bar. From July 1886 to May 1889 he was in Washington, mostly in the office of the Attorney General of the United States, but for a time as private secretary to his father, who was Secretary of War during the first Cleveland administra-



tion. On 30 October 1889, he married, at Lenox, Marie Louise, daughter of Joseph and Anna Barker Ward Thoron. In the same year he began the practice of law in Boston, and continued until March, 1893, when he returned to Washington as private secretary to the Honorable Richard Olney, then Attorney General. In May 1894 William Crowninshield Endicott was appointed Pardon Attorney in the Attorney General's office, and held that post until the end of the second Cleveland administration, when he returned to the practice of law in Boston, with offices in the Ames Building. His interest lay in the care of estates, and for the last forty years of his life he carried on that profession for which he was by temperament and inheritance so well fitted.

William Crowninshield Endicott realised fully that the New England which he had known in his boyhood was rapidly disappearing, and that his relatives and friends of older generations possessed something which would soon be lost in the changing world. "The inheritor of a great New England tradition, he felt a personal responsibility that that tradition should not die." Having boundless energy and enthusiasm, and the capacity for obstinately accomplishing the impossible when he knew that he was right, he soon translated this feeling of responsibility into action, and, both through his private life and his service in innumerable public institutions, preserved for the future much that was good in the past of New England.

As early as his first period in Washington, during the eighties, he was copying documents relating to his great-grandfather, Jacob Crowninshield, who had been named Secretary of the Navy by Thomas Jefferson, and as the years passed it came to be assumed by a variety of people that family papers, portraits and heirlooms in general should be turned over to him for study and preservation. These responsibilities he assumed with the spirit and technique of a historian, for he recognized that much concerning the history of New England was to be found among the possessions of the families which had helped

to make the region. This material he studied with the greatest care. When he caught an oral tradition he wrote it down, and when he heard of a possible source of information he pursued it immediately and thoroughly. Thus he secured from the descendants of P. and A. Filicchi, Joseph Peabody's correspondents in Leghorn, first a transcript of and finally the original letter book covering the firm's dealings with Salem over the period from 1823 to 1842, which supplies some at least of the information that was lost when the Peabody counting-house records were destroyed. At the beginning of the search he knew only that his great-grandfather had maintained business relations with the Leghorn firm a century before. Eventually he located the Filicchi descendants, and at last, after several years of persistence, obtained what he wanted. While "there were within him infinite layers of anecdote and reminiscence" which added immeasurably to the gaiety of his conversation, he had in his library quantities of files and loose-leaf binders full of documented information, systematically arranged, which allowed him to quote chapter and verse for all that he remembered, and more too. But being himself the ripened and mellow fruit of the tradition which he loved, there was nothing of rusty antiquarianism in his daily life. His limitless capacity for friendship and his genius for giving pleasure to his friends caused the Peabody Farm at Danvers and his Boston house at the corner of Marlborough and Dartmouth streets to be eagerly frequented, for an instinctive ability to enter fully into a situation and a complete lack of self-consciousness made him the best of hosts.

In a tribute read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Judge Robert Grant remarked that the list of official positions which William Crowninshield Endicott occupied at the time of his death in connection with the arts or historical tradition read like Homer's catalogue of ships. These positions were in no sense empty honors, for William Crowninshield Endicott made an institution a living force by his own part in it. Each office represented a genuine interest, and as his interests were many,

so were his activities. His usefulness increased with his responsibilities, for, as his connections multiplied, he was more and more able to override petty parochial difficulties, and to direct the work of each institution along lines which were to the advantage of all of them.

The record of the offices which he held in these various organizations, kindly furnished by Mr. William Dexter, speaks for itself.

In 1894 he became an active member of the Essex Institute; in 1920 a sustaining member, and in 1926 a life member. Elected to the Council in 1910, he became a Vice-President in 1915, and served as President from 1916 until his resignation in 1926. Returning to the Council in 1930, he was again a Vice-President from 1931 to 1934, and President from 1934 until his death. During this period he served on numerous committees.

In 1905 he was elected a Trustee of the Peabody Museum of Salem, where the combined service as President of his father and of his uncle, George Augustus Peabody, extended from 1868 to 1924. From 1905 to 1906 and from 1909 to 1936 he was a member of the Finance Committee, and from 1924 until his death Vice-President of the Board of Trustees, chairman of the Museum Committee and a member of the Executive Committee. Proud of his descent from Crowninshields, Peabodys and Endicotts, he fully appreciated the maritime history of Salem, and the Museum which the shipmasters of the East India Marine Society had founded in 1799.

One of the original incorporators of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1910, William Crowninshield Endicott was its Treasurer from the beginning to 1930, Vice-President from Massachusetts from 1930 to 1932, and President from 1932 until his death.

A member of the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1917 to 1920, he became First Vice-President in 1926, and was President from 1927 until his death.

At the Museum of Fine Arts he was a member of Visiting Committees from 1911 to 1914, was elected a Trustee

in 1915 and Treasurer in 1917, holding that office until he died.

Prior to the incorporation of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and through the succeeding years, he was frequently consulted by Mrs. Gardner, who named him in her will as one of the seven Trustees of the institution. At their first meeting in 1924 he was elected Vice-President, and in 1934 became President.

A Trustee of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from 1900 onwards, he acted as Recording Secretary in 1918-1919, as Treasurer from 1919, and Second Vice-President from 1930 to his death.

In 1903 he became a Trustee of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and was its Vice-President from 1932 until his resignation in October, 1936.

From 1915 to 1936 he served as a Trustee of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and during the years 1919-1920 was its President.

From time to time after 1910 he was a member of numerous committees of Harvard University, especially those in connection with the Arnold Arboretum, the Bussey Institution, and the Department of History.

In addition to the offices listed above, William Crowninshield Endicott was connected with a great many associations of charitable or philanthropic nature, and was also a director or officer in several business corporations.

The list of societies shows the range of his enthusiasms. By those who served with him, the vitality of his participation in each cannot be forgotten.

## WARRANTS FOR IMPRESSING SEAMEN

William Shirley Esq<sup>r</sup>. Captain General  
& Governour in Chief in and over his Majesty's  
Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England

To the Sheriff of the County of Essex his Under Sheriff  
or Deputies Greeting.

I do hereby require you forthwith to search diligently  
for and to impress into his Majestie's Service in the in-  
tended Expedition against the French all able bodied Sea-  
men that may be found with in any of the Maritime  
Towns of the sd. County, more especially the Towns of  
Salem, Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury & Gloucester, as  
also in other Parts of the said County where any Seamen  
may be retired to avoid the Service; And such Seamen  
as you shall so impress you must send safely up to Boston  
either by any of the Transports that may be lying in  
any of the Harbours in the said County, or in such manner  
as you shall judge best for his Majesty's Service. And  
all his Maj<sup>ty's</sup> Officers & other his Subjects are required  
to assist you in the Execution of this Warrant.

Given under my hand & Seal at Boston the twenty first  
day of February 1744, in the eighteenth Year of his  
Majesty's Reign.

W. Shirley.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay

By his Excellency the Governour

To the Sheriff of the County of Essex his Under Sheriff  
& Deputies Greeting.

You are hereby ordered & directed to impress or cause  
to be impressed Fifteen able Seamen for his Majesty's  
Service in the Expedition against Cape Breton, and to  
be put on board his Majesty's Ship the Bien Amy Prize  
Captain Clark Gayton Commander immediately upon  
their being so impressed, and to be discharged at the  
End of said Service; And all his Majesty's Officers &  
others his Subjects are required to give you all necessary  
Assistance herein; And you are to return this Warrant  
with a List of the Men so impressed into the Secretary's  
Office in Boston.

Given under my hand & Seal at Boston the Seventeenth  
day of April 1745, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's  
Reign.

W. Shirley.

—*Bowditch Mss., Essex Institute.*



## BUSINESS COURTESY IN SALEM IN 1807.

---

Jacob Crowninshield presents his compliments to Mr. Bowditch. J. C. having been requested to furnish an account of all the property actually at risk on East Indian voyages out of this town, he will be much obliged to Mr. Bowditch for a statement of what may be insured in the Fire & Marine office. It is asked that the amount may be distinguished for each vessel by name, whether it is for the outward or homeward bound voyage or both included.

Salem, 21st Aug<sup>t</sup> '07

friday

[addressed:] Nath<sup>l</sup> Bowditch, Esq<sup>r</sup> President of the Fire & Marine In. Company.

\* \* \*

Nath<sup>l</sup> Bowditch presents his compliments to Mr. Crowninshield & informs him that the sum insured by the E. F. & M. Ins. Co. on eighteen vessels on out<sup>d</sup> & home<sup>d</sup> E. India voyages is \$230,350 & on homew<sup>d</sup> voyages \$20,000, making in all \$250,350.

The sum at risk on each vessel is not mentioned as the Directors of the company thought it would not be agreeable to the insured.

\* \* \*

Jacob Crowninshield presents his compliments to Mr. Bowditch and regrets he is not to be furnished with the sum at risk on each vessel insured to & from India in the Fire & Marine office, as the statement he has been asked to furnish will be incomplete without it. Jacob Crowninshield begs leave to inform Mr. Bowditch that such a statement would not possibly have injured any body but might have benefited "the insured."

Monday 24<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 07.

—*Essex Institute Ship Papers*, Vol. II.

## JONES VERY — THE HARVARD YEARS.

BY WILLIAM IRVING BARTLETT.

When Jones Very entered Harvard in February, 1834, he appeared somewhat older than his twenty years would warrant. His boyish shyness had disappeared, but his reticence had clung to him persistently.<sup>1</sup> Yet he possessed an abundance of self-reliance, confidence, and fearlessness inherited from his forbears and developed by his experiences in auction room and school. For eight years he had earned his own living, and had assisted his mother in caring for the younger children. The bearing of such responsibilities not only had made him conscious of material values but had intensified his seriousness and had quickened his responsiveness to the opportunities offered for intellectual advancement. When he came to Cambridge, therefore, he was charged with mental energy and was spurred on by the curiosity of youthful genius and the hunger of unsatisfied ambition. He knew that his college training had been delayed, that he was older than his classmates, and that in order to compensate for his delayed entrance at Cambridge he must waste<sup>2</sup> no time and must pursue all of his prescribed tasks diligently. This he did, but he also kept faith with his kindred and friends at home. They expected verse from him, and he was determined that they should not be disappointed. In April he sent to the *Salem Observer* a thirty-one line poem — his third published work — of particular significance.<sup>3</sup> In this piece he forsakes the heroic couplet for a sometimes imperfect blank verse, and discusses the relationship of God and nature. Though crude, the poem clearly indicates the influence of Wordsworth. The opening line — "Hast thou ever heard the voice of nature" —

<sup>1</sup> William P. Andrews, "Memoir," p. 7, *Poems by Jones Very*; hereinafter spoken of as *Andrews*.

<sup>2</sup> "Jones Very, the Finest Song Writer in America," the *Boston Sunday Herald*, May 16, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> See poem beginning, "Hast thou ever heard the voice of nature," published in the *Observer*, April 26, 1834. The poem bears the date of April 7, 1834; it is not included in any edition of Very's works.

indicates, even at this early stage of Very's poetic career, the ultimate trend of his love for nature; and the concluding lines —

. . . learn off' as upon thy sight or  
 Ear they fall to think of him who made them . . .

show his lamentable fondness for the moral tag, and his occasionally objectionable seriousness.

But in spite of his earnest attitude, Jones Very soon encountered difficulty in the form of the famous Dunkin rebellion. This demonstration of student opposition to the authorities at Harvard began on May 19, 1834, when one Maxwell, a student in the freshman Greek class, refused to recite in the manner his tutor, Mr. Dunkin, required. After several interviews between President Josiah Quincy and the rebellious students had resulted in the support of Mr. Dunkin by the administration of the College, the entire freshman class created great disturbance and commotion by smashing the furniture in the Greek recitation room and by breaking dormitory windows. Ultimately, the entire student body was drawn into the controversy. On May 21 the sophomore class expressed its disapproval of the stand taken by the faculty by attending morning prayers in a body and by such persistent groaning and scraping of feet that services could not be completed. After commons, the entire class, with three exceptions, was dismissed. This action was immediately followed by a demonstration of sympathy by the other classes, when, according to the Steward's estimate, property of the College was damaged to the extent of three hundred dollars. On the same day the juniors and seniors made further disturbance at evening prayers, and when one junior was dismissed the class voted to wear crepe on the left arm for three weeks, to publish articles in the papers relative to President Quincy, and "to burn him in effigy."<sup>4</sup> So intense was the feeling of dissatisfaction among the students, and so prevalent was rebellion to

<sup>4</sup> *Circular* of the Senior Class in 1834, Relative to the Rebellion in that Year, the Boston Public Library, *Circular* 4483.121: see also, *Tracts by Josiah Quincy, President*, in the Boston Public Library, C in 4394.109.

authority that on June 2 the faculty voted to appeal to the tribunals of the State of Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup>

It appears from the records of the faculty at Harvard that Jones Very was one of three sophomores not immediately dismissed, his companions being James Chisholm, of Salem, and a student named Scates. Since Chisholm was a monitor for another class, his duties prevented his march of protestation into chapel with the rest of the sophomores;<sup>6</sup> he was, therefore, exonerated. Scates and Very apparently found it difficult to escape the organized rebellion and were, consequently, listed among those sophomores to be dismissed. They both protested, however, as the minutes of the faculty for June 16, 1834, clearly show:

The case of Scates and Very having been considered and long discussed, it was finally voted that they must be considered among the dismissed sophomores.<sup>7</sup>

Thus Jones Very experienced during his first year at Harvard a short period of rustication. But the days in Salem and the surrounding countryside were happily spent, as lines from a poem dated June 8, 1834, prove:

What more delightful than to wander forth  
In spring, before the sun has chased away  
The freshness of the morn; or shook the dew  
From off the tender grass?<sup>8</sup>

In this poem, even though the vehicle for expression be a somewhat crude and prosaic blank verse, one senses a spontaneity of emotion, a lively imagination, and a communion with nature and God enjoyed most by him who is both a mystic and a poet. Another blank verse poem, "Death of Lafayette,"<sup>9</sup> appeared in the *Salem Observer*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> David Holmes Conrad, *Memoir of Rev. James Chisholm, A. M.*, New York, 1856, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Records of the College Faculty*, Vol. XI (1829-1840), p. 50. This volume is preserved in the archives of the Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>8</sup> This poem is among the 59 unpublished poems of Very found in the manuscripts of the Harris Collection of American Poetry, at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. The Harris Collection contains an extensive amount of Very material, both prose and poetry.

<sup>9</sup> See the *Salem Observer* for June 28, 1834. The poem is not included in any edition of Very's works.

the latter part of June; it is dated June 21, 1834, and was, therefore, also written during the enforced vacation. Undoubtedly Very recalled Lafayette's second visit to Salem on August 31, 1824, the same day he and his ill father arrived from Boston after their last voyage. The tone of this poem is dignified, mellowly sonorous; the feeling of grief is strong but restrained; and the expression of love of liberty and hatred of tyranny is worthy of a mature poet.

The *Observer*, by the close of the summer, had published five other poems by Very. The first three of these — "Old Age,"<sup>10</sup> "Lines—suggested by seeing a butterfly sculptured upon a tomb,"<sup>11</sup> and "Kind Words"<sup>12</sup> — were inferior, unimportant, and uninteresting. The fourth, "Pleasure,"<sup>13</sup> is significant. It is an attempt to incorporate in blank verse, so irregular that it seriously threatens to be free verse, the pleasures of retirement and introspection. The subject matter is undoubtedly the result of Very's temporary absence from Cambridge; the diction suggests late eighteenth century influences — a blending of Classicism and Romanticism; and certain lines indicate Very's acquaintance with Satan's speech to Beelzebub in Book I of *Paradise Lost*. The following lines are indicative:

"Goddess of pleasure, where thy golden car?<sup>14</sup>  
Ask him, who led astray o'er the treach'rous bogs,  
Is wandering; ask of him where shines the light,  
Which that he follows seems:—'At home,' he says,  
There, pleasure, rest thy golden car. The mind  
Is its oen home.

. . . .

It is the mind, communing with itself,  
That casts a sunshine on the paths of life."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Salem *Observer*, July 5, 1834; the poem is found in no edition of Very's works.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1834; not found in any edition of Very's works.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1834; not included in any edition of Very's works.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, August 2, 1834; not included in any edition of Very's works.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. John Gay's "The Fan," Book I, lines 140-176.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Paradise Lost*, Book I, lines 252-255.



The fifth poem in question bore the title "Stanzas,"<sup>16</sup> and showed Very's preference for manly, yet nature-loving, gentle, and kind friends. Surely there is a flavor of Burns in the opening and closing stanzas:

Give me an eye that manly deeds  
Shall kindle up with living fire;  
That rolls enraptur'd at the strains  
Resounding from the heroic lyre.  
Is there who has an eye like this,  
To dwell forever next my heart;  
To share my joy, to share my grief,  
And to my breast his own impart?<sup>17</sup>

The closing days of August, Very spent in writing a poem of autobiographic significance. This was "My Brother Franklin,"<sup>18</sup> another blank verse piece and an excellent example of Very at both his best and his worst. Already a lover of the Greek language, he had saturated his mind with passages from Greek literature and had absorbed phrases so completely that certain words had become a part of his being, even as the word *Endymion* had sunk into the very life of Keats. Is not the following passage reminiscent of Keats?

. . . his voice—sweet as nightingale's,  
That in some lone vale of Attica,  
'Midst ivy dark, sits warbling her plaintive  
Notes. Entranced, the shepherd, as he  
Hies him home with quicken'd pace, unconscious  
Of delay, lingers to hear her evening  
Song.

One would choose to prolong the spell of other-worldliness, to retain the lyric rapture of these lines; but Very's sense of the artistic is seldom equal to his stern obedience to duty. He must, if possible, draw a moral; and this he does, completely spoiling the poem. Recalling his

<sup>16</sup> *Salem Observer*, August 16, 1834; also *Poems and Essays of Jones Very*, Complete and Revised Edition, with a biographical sketch by James Freeman Clarke and a Preface by C. A. Bartol, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin and Company, pp. 165-166. This edition hereinafter is spoken of as *Clarke*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Burns's "Lines to John Lapraik," lines 73-78, and "A Man's a Man for a' That."

<sup>18</sup> *Salem Observer*, August 30, 1834; also *Clarke*, pp. 169-171.

blind brother's capturing of a bee in his chubby hands, and the sting which resulted, Very concludes:

"Let us from this  
A moral draw."

In the closing lines of the poem, Very's allegory necessitates the changing of the blue-eyed, golden-haired boy Franklin — blind from his infancy — into seeing man; the bee becomes vice; and the child's experience in his mother's garden becomes symbolic of human life. The treatment of subject matter in this poem is, unfortunately, representative of much of Very's verse: the sensuous and the saintly often did not unite artistically.

"My Brother Franklin" marked the close of Very's poetic efforts for the summer of 1834. The succeeding few months were to be filled with academic duties. On August 23, he and his dismissed classmates were voted by the faculty to readmission to the College "after the Commencement," upon a new examination and a certificate of "good conduct"; and on August 30 Very was one of sixteen "admitted to the Junior Class on probation."<sup>19</sup>

Having conformed to these requirements, Jones Very entered upon his junior year at Harvard. He quickly gained a reputation for serious, prolonged study and thorough scholarship. Though he excelled in ancient and modern literature, his chief interest was religion. Feeling that the College administration failed to offer sufficient opportunity to the students for religious worship, he and his roommate, Thomas Barnard West, also of Salem, encouraged the organization of a society for religious improvement. In their senior year, when with James Chisholm,<sup>20</sup> they occupied the whole upper story of the

<sup>19</sup> *Records of the College Faculty*, Vol. XI; also *Tracts of Josiah Quincy, President*, in Boston Public Library, C 4394.109.

<sup>20</sup> This young man afterwards migrated to Virginia as a tutor, later entering the Theological Seminary at Alexandria. After his confirmation by Bishop Meade in October, 1840, he was associated for a time with the family of Senator Rives, of "Castle Hill," Albemarle County, in a tutorial capacity. While awaiting a regular pastorate, he also acted as tutor for the children of Senator Rives's sister, at "Bentivoglio." He died of fever, in Portsmouth, Va., in September, 1855, having sacrificed his life in seeking to succor his parishioners during the epidemic of that year.

third entry of Holworthy, they often gathered together a small troupe of students on Sunday evenings and spent an hour or so singing hymns.<sup>21</sup>

Such activities in a college environment naturally marked Jones Very as a student too sedate and earnestly religious to be widely popular; yet his simple modesty, his genuine sympathy, and his quiet cheerfulness won for him a small group of warmly attached friends. And even those who were not intimate with him respected and revered him, for there was in his face the reflection of purity of character and serenity of spirit which stamped him early as a saint. In fact, his sweet benignity marked him as a young man of intuition and mysticism. Even in those days he did not hesitate to reveal to his intimate friends that he felt himself chosen to impart a great message to mankind,<sup>22</sup> and that, like Milton, he must keep himself pure and unspotted from the world, so that he might himself "be a true poem, . . . a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things."<sup>23</sup> He, therefore, participated in none of the sports or revels of his classmates, but stuck strictly to academic duties and his own religious and literary pursuits.

The latter, having been inactive for about four months, revived at the turn of the year. On January 3, 1835, the *Observer* published Very's "The New Year,"<sup>24</sup> in which he expressed his delight in struggling with the wind and snow of a winter storm in New England. The same storm furnished material for one of the few exceptions to Very's serious verse, for "The Sleigh Ride,"<sup>25</sup> dated January 5, 1835, is a joyous, full-throated lyric, saturated with the vigorous and zestful spirit of light-hearted youth.

With the coming of spring, Very wrote "The Snow Drop,"<sup>26</sup> which, in spite of its very obvious imitation of

<sup>21</sup> See letter from Jones Very to David Holmes Conrad, pp. 12-13, in *Memoir of Rev. James Chisholm, A. M.*

<sup>22</sup> *Andrews*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> Milton, *Apology for Smectymnuus*.

<sup>24</sup> Also in *Clarke*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>25</sup> *Salem Observer*, January 10, 1835; not included in any edition of Very's works.

<sup>26</sup> *Salem Observer*, April 11, 1835; also *Clarke*, pp. 173-174.

Burns's "To a Mountain Daisy" in both its stanza form and its diction, has a personal, individual flavor about it which is so charming and sincere as to make it approach freshness and originality. The same stanza form was used for "To a Humming Bird,"<sup>27</sup> but the spirit and the diction are Very's own. Happy is he who becomes acquainted with Very by reading first a lyric so characteristic of the poet's best verse. It is not strange that Emerson later chose it to lead the poems appearing in the edition which he sponsored—that of 1839. This poem is intensely romantic in its lyric expression of sympathy with animal life. Less lyric is another bird poem, "The Snow Bird," the manuscript of which reads "Cambridge, 1836." The resemblance in tone and thought to William Cullen Bryant's "To a Waterfowl," published eighteen years earlier, is noticeable. The poem represents Very in a mood more religious than artistic. As he sat in Holworthy Hall contemplating the Divine Spirit, he saw spiritual significance even in the coming of the snow-bird to his window. To him the event revealed God's constant love and concern for all his creatures; and when the bird had flown away, he wrote:

Thou'st fled—and gone, perhaps to find  
 Thy playmates of the blast;  
 I bless thee—for thou left'st behind  
 Thine image ere thou passed,  
 And bid me feel that He, whose eye  
 Thy wants doth pitying see  
 And through the wintry time supply,  
 Will surely succor me.<sup>28</sup>

Doubtless, a kindred mood, though tinged with nostalgia, occasioned the contemporary poem, "My Mother's Voice."<sup>29</sup> Spring again provoked a nature poem; this time, the columbine—though only a painted one—offered inspiration.<sup>30</sup> By June, he had written his

<sup>27</sup> *Salem Observer*, August 8, 1835. The poem is included in the three editions of Very's works.

<sup>28</sup> *Salem Observer*, Jan. 2, 1836; also *Clarke*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>29</sup> *Salem Observer*, June 4, 1836; also *Clarke*, p. 157.

<sup>30</sup> "The Painted Columbine"; it appeared first in the *Observer*, on April 23, 1836. See, also, *Clarke*, p. 157.



"Hymn" to be sung at the dedication of the New Stone Church of the North Society in Salem.<sup>31</sup>

During Very's senior year at Harvard, he published eight poems in *Harvardiana*, a literary magazine published by the students and lasting from 1834 to 1838. Six of these pieces had already appeared in the *Salem Observer*, but "King Philip" and "Lines to . . . on the Death of a Friend" owe their first printing to the Harvard magazine.<sup>32</sup> Very, therefore, came to be known at Harvard as a student-poet of more than average ability.

But he never allowed the creation of verse to interfere with his academic duties. His close and regular attention to the routine of study enabled him to participate in three Public Exhibitions,<sup>33</sup> to win twice the coveted Bowdoin prize<sup>34</sup> — a feat which had never previously been accomplished<sup>35</sup> —, and to tie with Robert Bartlett, of Plymouth, in achieving the highest scholastic average in the senior class. But, in view of the fact that Very had entered as a second-term sophomore and had not pursued the entire four-year course, Bartlett was declared by the faculty to be entitled to first honors and Jones Very to second.<sup>36</sup> This apparent difference in honor, however,

<sup>31</sup> *Salem Observer*, June 25, 1836; *Clarke*, p. 334.

<sup>32</sup> See *Harvardiana*, Vol. II (1835-1836), Nos. v, vi, vii, viii-ix, x, and xi.

<sup>33</sup> See, in the Harvard College Archives, *Exhibition and Commencement Performances*—1834-1835. Jones Very participated as follows: April 28, 1835, "A Greek Version, Extract from Webster's 'Oration at Plymouth,'""; Oct. 20, 1835, "Mathematical Exercises"; May 3, 1836, "An English Oration,—The Heroic Character.'"

<sup>34</sup> The manuscripts of Very's prize dissertations are in the Archives of the Widener Library at Harvard University: *Bowdoin Prize Dissertations*, Vol. 6 (1835-1839), Nos. ii and iv. Very won the first prize of \$40.00 offered the junior class in 1834-1835, with a splendidly written piece entitled "The Practical Application in This Life, by Men as Social and Intellectual Beings, of the Certainty of a Future State." He won \$50.00 in his senior year for the essay, "What Reasons Are There for Not Expecting Another Great Epic Poem?"

<sup>35</sup> See letter from Lydia L. A. Very to the editor of the Boston *Sunday Herald*, published in that newspaper on June 6, 1880, under the heading "Jones Very Again."

<sup>36</sup> *Records of the College Faculty*, Vol. XI (1829-1840), p. 281, under the heading of "Faculty Meeting, July 12, 1836." The minutes read, in part, as follows: "The committee on the subject reported the following distribution of parts for Commencement: First English Oration, Bartlett; Second English Oration, Very."



was partly compensated for on class day, when Very's "Song"<sup>37</sup> to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne" was sung as a valedictory by the seniors. At the Commencement on August 31, 1836, Jones Very delivered an English oration, "Individuality." The piece contains much that suggests those views of excessive intellectual independence and intense religious fervor expressed by Very later in life.<sup>38</sup>

But of far more value than honors to be formally recognized at commencement time was Very's reputation for independent thought. Both students and faculty members were sometimes startled by the sheer clarity of his statements and the striking originality of his interpretation. Such contributions to class-room recitations and to intimate personal discussions in the old yard contradicted the impression held by some of the Cambridge community that the unusual Salem student was rabidly bookish, and won for him the friendship and admiration of his teacher, Professor Edward Tyrrell Channing.<sup>39</sup>

This gentleman, more than any other at Harvard, exerted a profound influence on Jones Very.<sup>40</sup> In the fifteen years he had served as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, he had taught hundreds of students and had come in contact with what he believed to be the gamut of youthful emotions and intellectual interests; but shortly after Very entered his lecture room, the seasoned teacher realized that he had a student possessing a personality and a mind entirely unlike those of any student he had previously known. He, therefore, carefully watched his new discovery, gradually led him into literary discussions, learned of his interest in Shakespeare — particularly in

<sup>37</sup> See program of the Valedictory Exercises of the Senior Class of Harvard University, Tuesday, July 19, 1836. A copy is preserved among the manuscripts of Jones Very in the Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.

<sup>38</sup> The manuscript is in *Exhibition and Commencement Performances*—1834-1835.

<sup>39</sup> Younger brother of the elder William Ellery Channing, the noted Unitarian minister and abolitionist, and uncle of the poet, William Ellery Channing.

<sup>40</sup> See letter from R. C. Waterson, in *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XIII (1881), p. 28; also, in the same volume, p. 29, letter from Charles T. Brooks.

*Hamlet*,— suggested readings to further the young enthusiast's knowledge of world literature, and helped him toward the unfolding of his own independent interpretation of both the English and the classical writers. Jones Very responded eagerly and strongly to Professor Channing's leadership; Homer, Vergil, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth became to him more intensely alive, more vibrant with thought, with reason, and with emotion. He saturated himself with readings from the works of these poets, and added their names to his older acquaintances, such as Thomson,<sup>41</sup> Young, Blair, Campbell, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Gray, Cowper, and Burns.<sup>42</sup> So eager was he to demonstrate his understanding of verse and his facility in creating it, that he actually composed a number of his required themes in verse. These exercises, as well as his prose essays, demonstrated to a marked degree a further influence of Professor Channing — the influence of style. For Professor Channing had always stressed the value of simple diction, clarity of thought, and direct, natural, unadorned expression. He urged his students to think, to arrange their thoughts logically, and to write even to the point of exhaustion when, and only when, they felt compelled to express themselves. The latter condition he himself undertook to create. Such instruction naturally succeeded with Very, for every characteristic of his personality and every natural inclination of his mental processes fitted perfectly into such a system of literary creation. He composed carefully, simply, and slowly; he revised little; and his diction was strongly Anglo-Saxon, with some Hebraic borrowings.

Another influence, though a less powerful one, was that exerted by Edward Everett, professor of Greek literature. His oratorical and histrionic talents incited in Very an admiration less extravagant than that inspired in the youthful and impressionable Emerson a few years ear-

<sup>41</sup> The author has in his possession Very's copy of *The Seasons*, printed for Richard Scott, by D. and G. Bruce, New York, 1811; the little volume was presented to him by Miss Harriet I. Wilkins, of Salem, Mass., who acquired it from Miss Lydia L. A. Very, after the death of her brother.

<sup>42</sup> Very was influenced strongly by Burns, as has already been shown.

lier,<sup>43</sup> but in the teacher's eloquence Very sensed the Greek spirit and responded to its appeal. In fact, his record in Greek at Harvard was so satisfactory that, upon his graduation on August 31, 1836,<sup>44</sup> he was appointed freshman tutor in that subject.

When Very received his Bachelor of Arts degree, he had already made up his mind to enter the ministry. He had been encouraged toward this decision by his appointment as tutor, the emolument from which would enable him to defray part of his expenses at the Divinity School. He returned to Salem for his vacation, happy that he had felt the urge to preach, and humbly proud that he had won honor and had achieved the confidence of the faculty at Harvard. When he went back to Cambridge in the autumn, the reserve and reticence of his undergraduate days had disappeared. In their place was a quiet confidence in his own ability which quickly impressed all his associates. His energy seemed inexhaustible; from early morning until late at night he stuck doggedly to his assignments, both as a student and as a tutor. In fact, the teaching methods of Very and Longfellow, who also had just entered upon his career at Harvard, somewhat astonished the elder members of the faculty. Both men were friendly and sympathetic, and took a personal interest in their students. Such a change from the cool reserve and even austerity generally associated with the academic life of Cambridge was a great relief to the students, and made both men exceedingly popular. In 1863 one of Emerson's visitors recalled his indebtedness to Very and so impressed the Concord sage with Very's ability that Emerson made a significant entry in his *Journals*:

Abraham Jackson, Esq., was here yesterday, and speaks of his old experience of the College at Cambridge. He owed more to Jones Very, who was Greek tutor, than to almost any or all others in the faculty. Any enthusiasm, any literary ambition or attempt was sure to be snubbed by teach-

<sup>43</sup> Emerson, at the age of sixteen, had recorded this resolution: "To make myself acquainted with the Greek language and antiquities and history with long and serious attention and study."

<sup>44</sup> Very's diploma is now in possession of the Essex Institute.

ers, as well as by public opinion of the classes. Only expense, only money, was respectable.<sup>45</sup>

One of Very's students, writing in 1880 to show his appreciation for the tutoring he had received forty-two years earlier, said:

You were my teacher of Greek in 1837-38, and your manner of instructing made a favorable impression on my mind, and produced a leaning to that language which still lasts. . . . The charm with which you surrounded Greek vanished from Harvard with you. . . . I often used to regret your departure, and think how different it could have been could we have continued under your guidance.<sup>46</sup>

It was during this second year of tutoring that Very and Thoreau, then a senior in the College, were probably drawn to each other through their mutual love of Greek literature.<sup>47</sup> Little did they realize then how often they should be meeting afterwards in Concord at the home of Emerson, who was soon to stir Cambridge with his Phi Beta Kappa address.

Meanwhile Very claimed no great honor for his successful teaching, and in answer to compliments offered him merely said that he "only let the Greek grow." It appears, however, that the young instructor watched his students closely and taught them diligently. He often visited them in their rooms to talk, first of Greek, but ultimately of religion. For shortly after he entered upon his teaching duties his religious zeal became more pronounced and more self-absorbing. He conceived of God as an all-enveloping, ever-present Spirit, thoroughly and actively alive, flooding and saturating all nature and all personality, and flowing into the receptive soul with continuous enrichment. He became more and more a mys-

<sup>45</sup> Vol. IX, p. 504. The date is April 20, 1863.

<sup>46</sup> Letter, dated from Bolonga, April, 1880; printed in the *Salem Gazette*, Friday morning, May 21, 1880, under the heading, "A Pupil's Testimony to Mr. Very as a Teacher." The same letter is quoted, in part, by Lydia L. A. Very in her letter to the editor of the *Boston Sunday Herald*, and which appeared in that newspaper on June 6, 1880, under the title, "Jones Very Again." It is regrettable that the former student's name was not given in either case.

<sup>47</sup> Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, *Henry D. Thoreau* (American Men of Letters Series), Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882, p. 51.



tic, firm in his resolution to be pure and will-less because he felt that the Spirit communed only with him who was pure of heart and devoid of will. Often, quiet and passive, he sat in his room, contemplating the Divine Spirit. At such a time, he wrote "The Voice of God," the concluding lines of which express his deep faith in the near and constant presence of God:

God dwells no more afar from me,  
In all that lives his voice is heard:  
From the loud shout of rolling sea  
To warbled song of morning's bird.  
In all that stirs the human breast,  
That wakes to mirth or draws the tear,  
In passion's storm or soul's calm rest,  
Alike the voice of God I hear.<sup>48</sup>

Very scattered copies of his poems among his students, or wrote them on the backs of their exercises, hoping that such verse might serve as an incentive to exalted spirituality.<sup>49</sup> Toward the close of the session of 1836-1837 his demeanor became so serious and his conversation so thoughtful and earnest that even the least studious members of his Greek class were impressed. Soon, he very frankly expressed his profound conviction that God had revealed something specially to him, a message for New England youth, and he became more intent upon saving the souls of Harvard undergraduates than teaching them Greek roots and interpreting Greek literature.<sup>50</sup> Often, in company with a group of students, he took long walks into the surrounding countryside, rhapsodizing on nature, truth, and goodness.<sup>51</sup> When his first year of tutorage had passed, he had won the reputation of being a thoroughly original and independent instructor, a man so

<sup>48</sup> *Andrews*, p. 127.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8; see, also, letter from one of Very's students, in the *Unitarian Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Feb., 1887), pp. 111-112; and letter from R. C. Waterson, in *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XIII (1881), p. 28.

<sup>50</sup> *Andrews*, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> See a letter from Will Orne White, in *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XIII (1881), pp. 31-32; also "Jones Very, the Finest Song Writer in America," *Boston Sunday Herald*, May 16, 1880.



singularly pure in thought and deed that he deserved the appellation of "saint."<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, there was something about Jones Very which suggested that he belonged to a life and a world different from those of his fellows. His tall, slender figure seemed too delicate for an ordinary, mundane existence, and one marveled that he had enough muscle in his gaunt legs to carry him on the seventeen-mile walks between Salem and Cambridge. His thin-lipped, sensitive mouth responded quickly to his varying moods of love and tenderness and religious ecstasy. His dark, expressive eyes fixed their trustful gaze intently on everything they encountered, and often seemed to penetrate even to the very soul of a man. His face, though angular, was sculpturesque and suggested majesty, but his high brow was too pale, and accentuated his thick, black hair. Yet the features bore the stamp of serenity which comes from long and deep communion with holy thoughts. For there was undoubtedly a spirit about this man, a spirit pure and noble that had been kindled at the very altar of God; and it burned with a flame so strong and beautiful that it had purged the flesh of all its worldliness and had left on the countenance an expression of rapt benignity. At times the spirit flamed up in the man's eyes, making them brilliant with inspiration and urging him on to speech; yet it was not the beauty of his voice but the mystical message carried in his words that drew men to him and startled them with a new depth of meaning. No wonder, then, that James Cabot, writing years later of his remembrance of his tutor, said of him: "I well remember the tall, angular figure and the solemn, fervent face that made one turn and look when he passed."<sup>53</sup>

When Very returned to Salem at the close of his first year as tutor and Divinity School student, he had been preceded by the intellectually and physically vigorous Elizabeth Peabody, who had returned from Boston and had settled with her parents, her invalid brother George,

<sup>52</sup> Emerson called him "our brave saint"; see *Journals*, Vol. V. p. 110, under date of October 30, 1838.

<sup>53</sup> *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, two vols., Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1890. Vol. I, p. 348.

and her two sisters in a large house at 53 Charter Street. This residence was bordered on the east and south by "Burying Point," the oldest cemetery in Salem, and afterwards was used by Hawthorne in his melancholy *Dolliver Romance* and *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*. Soon, because of the energetic and dynamic personality of Elizabeth Peabody, the house became the rendezvous for a small, happy circle of Salem folk, brought together by interest in art and literature, and stirred by the New England Renaissance. The flowing tide of transcendentalism, abolition of slavery, and Unitarianism had already passed beyond the precincts of Boston and Cambridge into Concord; and even before Elizabeth Peabody's return to Salem in 1836, the new ideas had penetrated the solemn conversation of Salem folk and had stimulated the dormant culture of the once prosperous seaport town. But the movement needed dynamic leadership and human urge. Elizabeth Peabody immediately furnished them. When she had studied Greek under Emerson, fresh from his graduation at Harvard, she had so much impressed him that he refused to accept payment for his services, declaring that he had taught her nothing. But their friendship had continued, and even in the trying days of his unhappy ministry at the Old North Church, when some of his parishioners had whispered that their pastor was deranged, she had felt that he was a great man, certain to achieve ultimate victory. When he gave up his pulpit in 1832 and sailed on Christmas Day for Europe, she followed him in her thoughts and eagerly awaited his return to Concord that she might hear from his own lips his opinion of Carlyle, of Wordsworth, and of Coleridge — all of whom he had visited. Meanwhile she had become for a short time literary assistant to William Ellery Channing and had accepted whole-heartedly his doctrine of Unitarianism and his belief in the necessity for the abolition of slavery. But the most interesting experience of her early sojourn in Boston had been gained through her friendship with Amos Bronson Alcott when she taught for a short time in the extraordinary Temple School. This experiment in kindergarten work led to her friendship with Margaret

Fuller and other transcendentalists, and inspired her to further activity in the field of child education. Though naturally studious and mentally alert, she was never completely satisfied with ideas accumulated only from books. She had a passion for human contact, for conversation, and for the personal exchange of ideas. This abundance of the social instinct, combined with her indomitable moral zeal and philanthropic interest, directed her efforts to help everybody she met.

She quickly found, in Salem, congenial companionship and alert minds eagerly responsive to her fondness for social organization. Having been accepted, along with Margaret Fuller, as a member of what was named in derision by its enemies the Transcendental Club,<sup>54</sup> she immediately allied herself with the Salem Lyceum and became one of the most faithful members of that group which met on Saturday evenings at the home of Miss Susan Burley, the sponsor. Soon she heard about Jones Very, and read some of his verses, which, she was told, had been appearing for several years in the *Salem Observer*. Always on the alert for the discovery of genius, she impatiently awaited the young poet's return to his home on Federal Street, formed friendships with Mrs. Very and her two daughters, and through their agency contrived at length to meet Jones Very. She asked to see his verses, read them with genuine delight, recognized their unusual quality, and inspired him through her unfeigned appreciation and enthusiastic admiration to write more. Thus began that constant pilgrimage between Federal Street and the "Grimshawe House" on Charter Street. During one of these visits Very was introduced to Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose friendship Elizabeth Peabody had also cultivated. Sometimes the two men went together to visit Elizabeth and her sister Sophia and to talk to the invalid brother George. Sarah Freeman Clarke tells of such a visit, when she herself was a guest of the Peabodys:

. . . That evening I saw Hawthorne for the first time. He came with Jones Very, both new treasures of Elizabeth's discovery, to go with her to a lecture. Hawthorne, shrouded

<sup>54</sup> G. W. Cook, *An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany The Dial*, Vol. I, p. 49; Vol. II, p. 73.

in a coat, Byronic and very handsome, looked gloomy, or perhaps only shy. Mr. Very had written poems which were remarkably spiritual and savored of Swedenborg.<sup>55</sup>

Elizabeth Peabody was the first person who made Very thoroughly conscious of his own poetic ability; she aroused in him the old though somewhat dormant wish to imitate Milton in writing nobly. Under her stimulus, the urge to sing began again to pulsate through his being. His mother afterwards recalled his habits during that summer of 1837, when his eyes often shone with a strange and brilliant light, and when he returned after a morning's stroll into the countryside to eat a scanty meal at noon and then retreat into an arbor in the garden. There, through the long afternoon, she could hear his monotonous droning and his regular tapping against the lattice-work, as he composed his sonnets,<sup>56</sup> often at the rate of two a day. Sometimes he wrote them down in pencil on a large sheet of paper folded to pages of small note size.<sup>57</sup> When he had filled a sheet, he took it to Elizabeth Peabody for criticism, and later he sometimes neatly copied her favorites for her in ink on small sheets of paper.<sup>58</sup> Among these was the sonnet which he called "Nature":

The bubbling brook doth leap when I come by,  
Because my feet find measure with its call;  
The birds know when the friend they love is nigh,  
For I am known to them both great and small;  
The flowers that on the lovely hill-side grow  
Expect me there when Spring their bloom has given;

<sup>55</sup> Sarah Freeman Clarke, "Reminiscences concerning Elizabeth Peabody, Written for the Memorial Meeting, 1894," in the Manuscript Collection of the Boston Public Library: MS. 622, *Impressions and Recollections of Miss Peabody*.

<sup>56</sup> Miss Harriet I. Wilkins and other residents of Salem recall such incidents in Very's later life, and remember remarks made by Lydia and Frances Very.

<sup>57</sup> Among Very's manuscripts in the Andover Theological Seminary is a sheet somewhat similar. The sheet is 16 by 24 inches, and is folded once so as to make four pages. There are eight poems, written neatly in small lettering, on each page, making thirty-two poems (sonnets) for the one large sheet.

<sup>58</sup> In August, 1933, the author saw a copy of Very's "The Wind-Flower" (Clarke, p. 72) among a collection of Elizabeth Peabody's correspondence, owned at that time by W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C.



And many a tree and bush my wandering know,  
And e'en the clouds and silent stars of heaven:  
For he who with his Maker walks aright  
Shall be their lord, as Adam was before;  
His ear shall catch each sound with new delight,  
Each object wear the dress which then it wore;  
And he, as when erect in soul he stood,  
Hear from his Father's lips, that all is good.<sup>59</sup>

As Elizabeth Peabody read the poem, she immediately thought of Emerson. In the previous September the Concord lecturer had published anonymously a little book called *Nature*. Although nearly all of its few readers were mystified by it or else openly hostile to its message, Elizabeth Peabody was enthusiastic in her praise. Frequently she re-read the "Introduction," and delighted in the independent spirit and the American gusto with which Emerson proclaimed that a New World had become of age. She agreed with his statements:

The foregoing generations beheld God and Nature face to face; we through their eyes. Why should we not also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs? . . . There are new lands, new men, new thoughts.<sup>60</sup>

Was not Jones Very one of these new men, with new thoughts? And was not he traversing new lands — the ever-beckoning, peaceful lands of the spirit, where one saw Nature and Truth through the medium of mystical communion with God? Yes, he was undoubtedly a genius, a unique product of the religious, social, and academic life of Massachusetts, with a song and a spirit which combined in a strain so pure, original, and independent as to serve for the poetic expression of American transcendentalism itself. Emerson's lectures were fairly satisfactory, but his poetry was too vague for popular approval. Jones Very should be the poet of the Transcendental School. Elizabeth Peabody, therefore, took pride in introducing him to the Salem Lyceum group, and finally persuaded

<sup>59</sup> Clarke, p. 91.

<sup>60</sup> *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, the Centenary Edition, 1903, Vol. I, *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, p. 9.



him to read to them his prose essay, "Epic Poetry." This he did during the last week of December, 1837,<sup>61</sup> when the Lyceum was conducting its ninth course of lectures. His audience was charmed. Immediately Miss Peabody sent off a letter to Emerson, acquainting him with the event and advising him to meet her discovered genius. From Concord, under date of January 20, 1838, Emerson, in a letter to Sophia Peabody, showed his marked interest:

Tell your sister Elizabeth that her account of Mr. Very interested me much, and I have already begged Mr. Whiting to bring him to our Lyceum, and he promised his good offices to get him here.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, Elizabeth Peabody kept in frequent communication with Very, and furnished him with Emerson's biographical lectures in order that her protégé might be acquainted with the elder man's views and enter comfortably into conversation with him. Writing on February 26, 1838, to Robert C. Waterson, a student at Harvard, she stated:

I mean to get more of those biographical lectures from Mr. Emerson when I make my visit. . . . But when you see Mr. Very tell him that I am not sure of any but that one on Biography which is in my possession.<sup>63</sup> Thus Very was prepared for his initial visit to Emerson made only a few weeks later.

Early in April Jones Very, with his essay on epic poetry folded in his coat pocket, walked out from Cambridge to Concord to meet Emerson. Perhaps seldom before had a pilgrimage in search of friendship and mutual spiritual inspiration met with more immediate responsiveness. Emerson was at the height of his ardor in his search

<sup>61</sup> In the *Salem Observer* for Saturday morning, Dec. 23, 1837, one finds the following notice: "Salem Lyceum. Lecture next week by Jones Very, Esq., of Harvard University."

Very was the eighth speaker. Oliver Wendell Holmes appeared as the thirteenth speaker, using as his subject, "English Versification." See *Historical Sketch of the Salem Lyceum*, with a list of the officers and lecturers since its formation in 1830. Press of the *Salem Gazette*. Salem, 1879, p. 42.

<sup>62</sup> Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne*, p. 183.

<sup>63</sup> See letter from Elizabeth Peabody to Robert C. Waterson, in the *Essex Institute Autographs*, Margaret W. Brooks Collection.

for American genius; he was eager to discover living witnesses to prove his prediction made the previous August that America's sluggish intellect was about to "look from under its iron lids and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill." America's literary Declaration of Independence had been written, read aloud to a Cambridge audience, and approved. But where were the volunteers to swell the ranks of American scholarship and free this continent from the shackles which bound it to the intellect of Europe? The recruits came slowly, mustering themselves at Concord under the leadership of Emerson. And though they were few in numbers, their zeal was so pronounced as to enkindle a nation's spirit and quicken its literary, social, and religious life. From Concord and its vicinity the world was destined to hear the report of a second revolution, and its purport should be hardly less significant than the shots fired by the "embattled farmers" on that April morning in 1775.

Very's visit heartened Emerson greatly. Here was a young tutor and student of divinity, modest but frank in his statements, unembarrassed in the presence of a man ten years his senior and already famous as a lecturer, a writer, and an independent thinker. The conversation flowed freely; thought rushed out to join thought, quick to recognize and embrace its kindred in an environment as yet hostile to its reception. They read and discussed Very's "Epic Poetry," and at length parted with expressions of hope for the development of warm friendship and mutually helpful literary relations. Immediately (April 5, 1838) Emerson wrote a letter to Elizabeth Peabody, effusive in its appreciation:

. . . But what I write for is to thank again your sagacity that detects such wise men as Mr. Very, from whose conversation and lecture I have had a true and high satisfaction. I heartily congratulate myself on being, as it were, anew in such company.<sup>64</sup>

Two weeks later Emerson's enthusiasm had not waned, as his journalistic entry proves:

<sup>64</sup> *Andrews*, pp. 18-19.

April 19. I have been to New York and seen Bryant and Dewey, and at home seen young Jones Very, and two youthful philosophers who came here from Cambridge,—Edward Washburn and Renouf,—and who told me find hopeful things of their mates in the senior class. . . . And I begin to conceive hopes of the Republic.<sup>65</sup>

But hopes were mixed with misgivings. The contrast between the indifference of the masses toward religion and the sincere devotion of young men like Jones Very was so great as to provoke astonishment. Emerson brooded over the state of American society, and on April 26 wrote in his Journals:

Have I said it before in these pages? Then I will say it again, that it is a curious commentary on society that the expression of a devout sentiment by any young man who lives in society strikes me with surprise and has all the air and effect of genius; as when Jones Very spoke of "sin" and "love," and so on.<sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile Very was surprising the students and faculty members of Harvard by the further expression of "devout sentiments." His conviction that he was an especial messenger from God grew more and more pronounced, and his interest in religion became so extreme and absorbing as to arouse in some of his friends the suspicion that he was slightly insane. Like Madame Guyon and Fenelon, he contended that all sin consists in self-will and that holiness is the result of unconditional surrender to the will of God. The more complete the surrender, the more perfect was the state of holiness; Very, therefore, modestly and humbly announced that because of his will-lessness God used him as an instrument of communication to a sinful humanity and that the words which flowed from his mouth and the verses which came from his pen were not his own, but God's.

At length, the Reverend Henry Ware, Jr., one of Very's professors, heard of his student's peculiar views and decided to interview him in an effort to clarify his mind and lead him into a more conservative view of religion. But the discussion was a total failure. Very reiterated

<sup>65</sup> Emerson's *Journals*, Vol. IV, p. 432.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 432.

his belief with strong conviction, and when the amiable gentleman frankly stated that he did not believe the younger man entirely inspired of God with living truth, Very burst into tears.

Reports concerning Very circulated so rapidly and created so much discussion that they aroused the interest of Dr. William Ellery Channing, who invited Very to visit him. The following account of the meeting is recorded by James Freeman Clarke:

I was one day at Dr. Channing's house, when he had just had a visit from Jones Very. Dr. Channing, like Emerson, was always looking for any symptoms of a new birth of spiritual life in the land. Having heard of Mr. Very, he invited him to come and see him, and inquired what were his views on religious subjects. Having listened attentively, he asked him, whether it was in consequence of his invitation or in obedience to the Spirit that he came to Boston that morning. Mr. Very answered, "I was directed to accept your invitation." Then Dr. Channing said, "I observed that during our conversation you left your chair and went while speaking to the fireplace, and rested your arm on the mantel. Did you do this of your own accord or in obedience to the Spirit?" Mr. Very replied, "In obedience to the Spirit."<sup>67</sup>

But though the Cambridge and Boston folk might wound Very with their refusal to accept him as the Messenger of the Divine Spirit, Emerson reassured him with his interest and confidence. He had soon induced Very to align himself with the Transcendental Club and to attend a meeting at Medford in May, 1838. The subject discussed was: "Is Mysticism an Element of Christianity?" Apparently Jones Very's poems had prompted the subject, for not only Emerson and Elizabeth Peabody were familiar with his verse, but also other members of the club, among whom some of the sonnets had been circulated. Undoubtedly Very was a leader in the discussion and so impressed Alcott that he recorded the meeting in

<sup>67</sup> James Freeman Clarke, "Biographical Sketch of Jones Very," in *Poems and Essays by Jones Very*, edited by James Freeman Clarke, Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1886.



his journal and made the following reference to it in one of his "Conversations":

. . . as if, in answer to the inquiry whether Mysticism was an element of Christianity, here was an illustration of it in a living person, himself present at the club.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, to Emerson Very was the most heartening of all that strange company he now knew. He was the living proof, the vibrant personification of transcendental humanity, a partaker of Universal Reason, a sharer in the Over-Soul. He, more than any other of Emerson's contemporaries, seemed to rely on intuition and not on history or social customs as a source of truth. His very will-lessness identified him as an individualist, self-reliant because God-reliant, Nature-loving because God-loving. To Emerson he served as a tonic force and helped, by his example of living, to classify into more orderly arrangement that chaotic mass of thought and idea which he was seeking to formulate into an expressible philosophy or even into a creed. The sermon which Emerson delivered on July 15 to the graduating class of the Harvard Divinity School, therefore, owed something to Jones Very; and the fact that this sermon, as Alcott said, came nearer to the "center and core of things" than almost anything else spoken or written, was perhaps as much the result of Very's conversations with Emerson as of the latter's interpretative study and original thinking. Though the two men from the very first did not entirely agree concerning religion, each nevertheless found in the other that intellectual stimulus which he needed during a great spiritual crisis.

During the summer and early autumn of 1838 Very diligently studied Shakespeare and began two essays concerning the dramatist; one dealt generally with Shakespeare, but the other was limited to a discussion of *Hamlet*. Very had been intensely interested in Shakespeare ever since his discovery in the Salem auction room of a rare edition, and while an undergraduate at Harvard had

<sup>68</sup> George Willis Cooke, *Ralph Waldo Emerson, His Life, Writings, and Philosophy*, Boston, James R. Osgood and Co., 1882, p. 57; also Cook's *An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial*, Vol. I, p. 52.



developed a strong friendship with Professor Channing mainly through their mutual enthusiasm for the dramatist. Now, however, having reached the belief that he was the mouthpiece of the Divine Spirit and that "It is the necessity of the spirit to speak with authority,"<sup>69</sup> he determined to study Shakespeare, not from a purely literary viewpoint, but rather from a transcendental one. Very discussed the matter with Emerson, who afterwards recorded in his *Journals*:

What led him to study Shakespeare was the fact that all young men say, Shakespeare was no saint—yet see what genius! He wished to solve that problem.<sup>70</sup>

The task Very set for himself was difficult and exhausting, but the impulse was so great that by the time of his return to Cambridge for the session of 1838-1839 he had almost completed his work. Emerson was kept notified of the progress, for on September 1 he wrote to his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, that Very would soon finish and probably publish the essay. He jokingly reminded his aunt not to be disturbed about his influence over Very, for this young man did not agree to "my dogmatism."<sup>71</sup>

Truly, Very at this time was agreeing to nobody's dogmatism. His mind had reached a state of such excitation that even the Harvard authorities seriously doubted his sanity.<sup>72</sup> His body was emaciated from lack of recreation and food, his nerves frayed and broken by super-excitement and abnormal exertion. Only the spirit seemed thoroughly and constantly alive. One day early in the term, as he stood before his Greek class, the increasing consciousness of his prophetic powers outgrew all further restraint. His eyes burned with a strange and intense light. Suddenly he startled his students with the apocalyptic cry,—“Flee to the mountains, for the end of all things is at hand.”<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Emerson's *Journals*, Vol. V, p. 105.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Professor R. L. Rusk, as yet unpublished.

<sup>72</sup> James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. I, p. 349.

<sup>73</sup> G. Bradford, Jr., "Jones Very," *The Unitarian Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (February, 1887), p. 111. The editor quotes from a letter received from one of Jones Very's former students. One

This demonstration convinced the Cambridge authorities that Very was on the verge of nervous collapse, perhaps positive insanity. At any rate, his presence at Harvard was considered undesirable, and he was asked to withdraw. He attended no meetings of the faculty after September 10,<sup>74</sup> and this date, apparently, marked the close of his career at Harvard University.

of Very's sonnets, "Flee to the Mountains," seems definitely to be the product of this experience. The poem is not included in any edition of Very's works, but is found in the Very manuscripts at Brown University.

<sup>74</sup> *Records of the College Faculty*, Vol. XI (1829-1840), p. 287.

## SAMUEL McINTIRE'S WORK ON WARD HOUSE

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Salem 7 Decem. 1784

Mr. Joshua Ward  
to Sam. McIntire, Dr.

to work on his House Window frames &c.

50 $\frac{3}{4}$ days @ 8/ per day	£20. 6.0
to work on the Virginia Store frame	4.17.7
to making Sashes 94 Squares @ /9	3.10.6

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£28.14.1

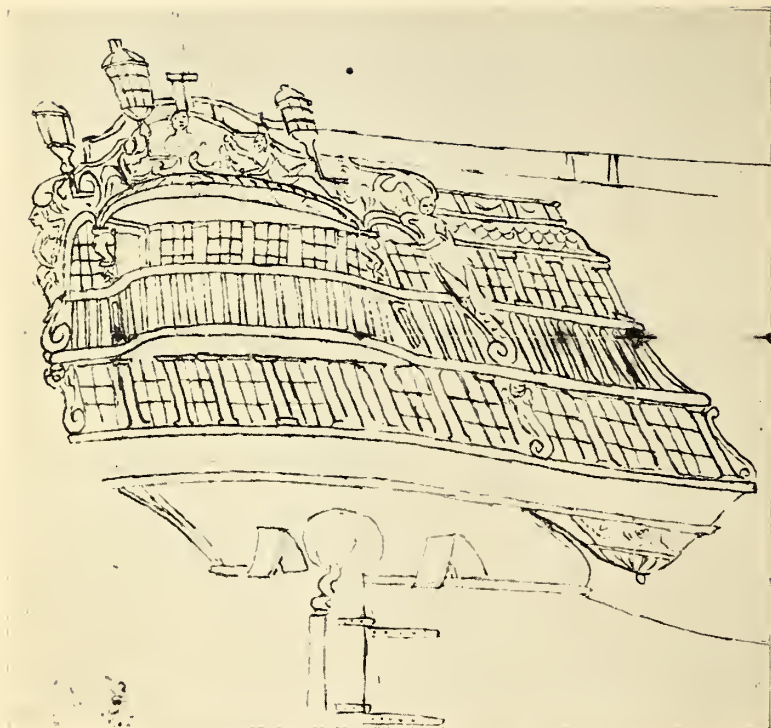
Contra

By 20 lb Coffee @ 1/	£1.
By 2 Gal. W. I. Rum @ 5/	10.
By Cash 48/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2. 8.9 $\frac{1}{2}$
By 2 y <sup>d</sup> Corded Velvet @ 5/10	14.7

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£4.13.4 $\frac{1}{2}$





THE STERN OF THE SHIP "MASSACHUSETTS"

From the William Hacket Papers in the New York Public Library

PAPERS RELATING TO THE BUILDING OF  
THE SHIP *MASSACHUSETTS*, AT  
BRAINTREE, 1787.<sup>1</sup>

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FROM THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM HACKET, OF SALISBURY.

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TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY JAMES W. SNYDER, JR.

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The *Massachusetts* was the largest American built East Indiaman of her century. She holds a unique place in our maritime history for this fact, and for her brief American ownership.<sup>2</sup> The idea of building an 800-ton vessel was conceived by Samuel Shaw while in Canton. At the time, he was the outstanding, if not the only authority on the American China Trade. As supercargo he had made the first voyage in the famous *Empress of China* from New York in 1784. Europeans managed their commerce by National Companies and with large ships. America was another ocean away and it seemed logical to him that Americans should require equally large vessels. Accordingly it was arranged with Eli Hayden, an American then at Canton, that upon his return to Boston he should build a suitable vessel for Shaw.<sup>3</sup> The articles of agreement were drawn up. Hayden's position was that of contractor, though his name appears infrequently in these papers. Any originality in design was due to William Hacket of Salisbury, Massachusetts. He was known as the draughtsman, and superintendent. Chapelle says, Hacket "was the best known ship designer of the period, and one of the greatest American naval architects of the sailing ship era." He and his uncle had built the frigate *Alliance* in 1777—the only American built frigate left in Continental service at the end of the Revolution.<sup>4</sup>

The dimensions of the *Massachusetts* were taken in

<sup>1</sup> Amasa Delano refers to the place as "Quincy one of the branches of Boston Harbor." He was second officer on her maiden voyage to Canton. *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> She was sold at the end of her first voyage to Canton, see below.

<sup>3</sup> Hayden was in China as supercargo of the brig *Columbia*, which he had built. Delano, *Voyages*, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> H. I. Chapelle, *History of American Sailing Ships*, p. 59.



general from a British ship the *Worcester*<sup>5</sup> which Shaw had admired in Whampoa. A copy of those measurements among the Hacket Papers is reproduced here, as well as those of the *Massachusetts* to show the changes made by Hacket.<sup>6</sup>

References to this famous ship are numerous in maritime history, though these papers relating to her construction apparently have never been published, and I know of only one citation of them by the usual authorities.<sup>7</sup> The following transcripts are presented, therefore, not only as primary authority on the construction of this particular vessel, but because they illustrate rather well certain phases of 18th century American ship building. With the addition of a few cross references and notes the papers are presented here as they appear in the original, now in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. Articles of agreement made at Canton between Sam Shaw (for himself & Tho<sup>s</sup> Randall) & Eli Hayden on the thirteenth of November 1787

That is to say

The said Eli Hayden doth engage to procure the best & sufficient oak timber & plank, with trunnels, & other materials usually provided by shipwrights & therewith build for the said Shaw & Randall, at some proper & convenient place within the county of Suffolk and State of Massachusetts in America, a good ship or vessel burthen Eight hundred Tuns of Carpenters measurement,<sup>8</sup> or thereabouts; the length of the keel to be one hundred & sixteen feet & breadth of Beam thirty six feet, & to have three decks, & a round house, with

<sup>5</sup> Delano refers to the British vessel as the *New Triumph*. It is also interesting, if not important, to notice that Delano says of the dimensions, "I think those of the *Massachusetts* were a little reduced." Obviously these papers were not available to Mr. Delano, as the *Massachusetts* is in several details larger than her prototype.

<sup>6</sup> Pages 14 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Tyler Dennett: *Americans in Eastern Asia*.

<sup>8</sup> *Carpenter's or Builders measurement*: Old-measurement: a method formerly employed for measuring vessels, for tonnage. Shipbuilders framed their charges on the result. The rule for calculating it being: From the vessel's length in feet between the perpendiculars deduct  $\frac{3}{5}$  of her breadth then multiply the remainder by the whole breadth and the product again by half the breadth, and this last product divide by 94.—H. Paasch: *Dictionary of Nautical Terms*.

a stern Gallery from the round house & quarter gallery above & below, with thirty two ports on her second deck, & a fore-castle on her upper deck; with every sort & kind of work usually performed by shipwrights, from the laying the ships keel to the finishing and fixing a kleet.

With respect to the other dimentions & dispositions of said ship, those of the Worcester (An English Ship now at Wampoa)<sup>9</sup> are annex'd to these presents; but it is understood by the parties to this contract & engaged by the s<sup>d</sup> Eli Hayden that he will build the aforesaid ship agreeably to the models to be formed & given for the same at the expense of the said Shaw & Randall by the person who shall hereafter be appointed for that purpose, & conform from time to time during the building the ship to all & every direction which the superintendant shall give respecting the same, whether relating to the size, quantity, or quality of such timber & plank & iron as shall be used in the construction of s<sup>d</sup> ship, it being further engaged that all aforesaid & every other article which shall enter into the construction of s<sup>d</sup> ship previous to her being launched & delivered to s<sup>d</sup> Shaw & Randall or their assigns in the water & afloat at the risque of s<sup>d</sup> Eli Hayden, shall be well & truly of the best, the very best quality, it being the true intent, spirit & meaning of the present contract that the s<sup>d</sup> ship shall be built as well and as strong as wood & iron can make her.

And for the better carrying these purposes into execution, as well as for avoiding any disputes which might arise, it is agreed that no piece or pieces of timber, scantling, joist, plank or board shall be used in the construction of s<sup>d</sup> ship, unless the same & the whole thereof be approved by the s<sup>d</sup> superintendant, and to the end that the ship shall be built & the workmanship thereof executed in the most masterly manner, it is engaged on the part of s<sup>d</sup> Eli Hayden that the master ship carpenter & master joiner to be employed shall be such & no other as shall be approved by the s<sup>d</sup> superintendant as good & sufficient for the said purpose.

To the end that no dispute may arise it is agreed by the parties that the tonnage of the s<sup>d</sup> ship shall be computed at & agreeably to the rules allowed by the builders & merchants of the port of Boston in the county of Suffolk aforesaid, excepting that no allowance whatever shall be made in such tonnage, to the s<sup>d</sup> Eli Hayden for the poop and round house Stern Gallery, Quarter Gallery, Forecastle or ports.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. p. 2 above.

The s<sup>d</sup> ship is to be compleated & launched at the risque of him the s<sup>d</sup> Eli Hayden, on or before the 1st Oct' 1789, & that when she is safe in the water & afloat she then & not till then becomes the property of s<sup>c</sup> Shaw & Randall & at their own risk or that of their assigns.

William Hacket's salary for drawing the design and preparing the moulds and for attending to the building of the ship was established by the following contract between Samuel Parkman and himself:

Boston 27 Aug 1788

This agreement made this twenty seventh day August between William Hacket of Salisbury & Samuel Parkman of Boston: Witnesseth

That the said William Hacket will according to his best skill & judgment, draw the designs & models for a ship which is intended to be Built by Mr. Eli Hayden agreath to his contract with Mesrs Shaw & Randall dated at Canton in China the 13 Nov. 1787 and that he will Superintend the Building of the said ship that she may be conform<sup>d</sup> to the Mould, which said William Hacket is to prepare for her. And in every respect be agreeable to Contract for which said Hacket is to be paid in manner following —

Thirty Pounds p.mo. for drawing the design and preparing the Moulds, including work & stuff; and Twelve Shillings p. day & his board while attending to building the ship.

Samuel Parkman

William Hacket

Boston 10 Nov 1788

Mr. William Hacket

You being appointed to form the mould & inspect the building of a ship agreed for at Canton by Mssrs Shaw & Randall, I herewith send you extracts from their contract with Mr. Eli Hayden. This ship is designed for the India Trade where ships from all nations meet and where probably the best ships the world can produce may be seen. It is the expectation of Mssrs Shaw & Randall that they can produce from America such a ship as will bare the inspection of the most critical eye, both as to construction & workmanship. With this assurance the foregoing contract was enter<sup>d</sup> into with Mr. Hayden. It will rest with you to see that every (thing) is done in the best manner. You will observe every piece of Plank & Timber is to be inspected by you & that no material of any kind is to be made use of but what you

approve & no workman employ<sup>d</sup> but those you find to be master of their business. I confide in you to attend particularly to the owners interest in every point – Let no Iron work be put into the ship but what you see the weight of & keep an account of, that there may be no difficulty with the smith.

I am your ( ? )

Samuel Parkman

Progress in construction is indicated by occasional letters from William Hacket to his wife as the following excerpts show:

Boston June 26 1789

. . . the ship's Lower Deck is all framed – fit for laying the Pla(nk).

Mr. Parkman was Down to see me Last Monday and is well Pleased with the ship . . .

N.B.

. . . I am waighen for 36 Dozen of Corks to be made for to Plug up the oyle hols in the timbers in the ship & I agreed for them last evening & they are to be Done by 10 o'clock. One of our carpenters cut himself Prety bad with an addes the fore part of the week. Timothy carried him home to hingam. This & Timothys are the princable axidents that have happened since I came from home for which we have reason to be thankful as we are much exposed to them.

I have the agreeable satisfaction to find that People that come to see the ship Like her vary well both as to construction, stuff & workmanship. I am in hopes to have her ready to Lanch by the 20th of October if not sooner. . . .

Boston July 14 1789

Mr. Shaw ari'd. in this town the forepart of last week & was down to see me & the ship last fryday, & after axamining the ship thoughts & my proceeding, in the matter, expresst himself to be well pleas<sup>d</sup> . . . the ship goes on fast, expect to have her ready to Lanch by the 20th of October.

Her launching, even earlier than scheduled, was an "event of great importance, and people came from all parts of the colony to witness it."<sup>10</sup> Delano says, "Capt. John Linzee was then in the English frigate *Penelope* in this port (Boston) and was considered as one of the best

<sup>10</sup> Capt. George H. Preble: *Early Shipbuilding in Massachusetts*, p. 4.

officers in the English navy. He paid us frequent visits and said that our ship was as perfect a model as the state of the art would then permit."<sup>11</sup>

In evening 10 o'clock  
Boston Nov 5th 1789

Yesterday we hove down the ship & cleaned the bottom of the bilgeways etc, today are in a goodway in sheathing & if the weather should be favorable shall soon accomplish it, as everything is prepared for that purpose. She proves to be very stife & came down harde before her gun(nel) was under which but (just?) brot her keel (?) out & locked as tite as could be expected (?) & no was strained, but Bares it well, which is a satisfaction to me.

Many have said that no ship of this burden ever was hove down without strainen & openen her seams.

Wm Hacket

The following note is most interesting in view of what happened to the cargo later.

Boston 6 Aug 1789

Mr. Hacket

I shall want a person who is compleat judge of masts to go to the Eastward to survey the masts for cargo for the ship. . . .

Samuel Parkman

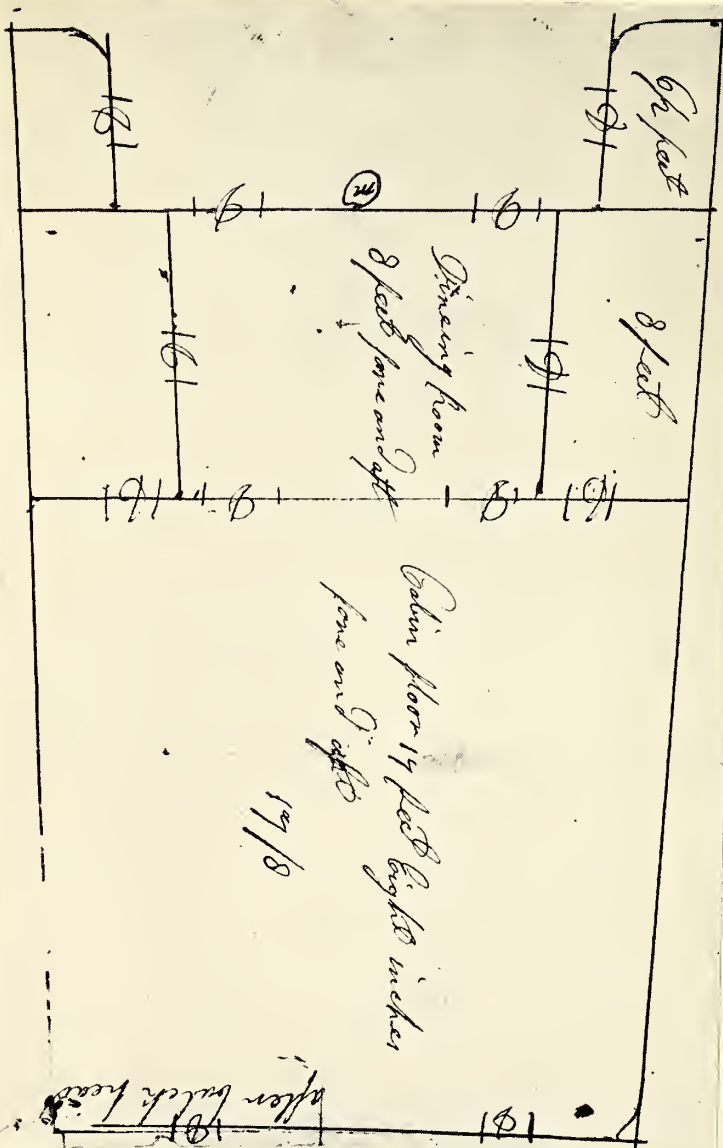
#### VOYAGE TO CANTON

"We set sail from Boston on Sunday the 28th of March 1790 at 4 o'clock P. M. . . . the 31st we weighed anchor at 10 o'clock A. M. with a light wind from west by north."<sup>12</sup> She was commanded by Job Prince, "gentleman, merchant," and carried a crew of some 66 men and officers. It is a commentary on sea life of the time that 17 of these men died, drowned or were murdered on the passage, or in Canton. It is also interesting to note how little was known of scientific navigation. When the *Massachusetts* arrived in the latitude of Java Head they were unable to raise the land. In order to make sufficient easting it was necessary to sail south from 6°52' to 16°20'. Even then they were partly favored by fair winds. "All

<sup>11</sup> *Voyages*, op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Delano, op. cit. p. 32.





DRAWING FROM THE WILLIAM HACKET PAPERS  
IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY



this loss of time, happened on account of our not having any Chronometer on board, nor any officer who knew anything about lunar observations. This shews how important it is for officers to know how to observe their longitude, and work the observations" . . . <sup>13</sup>

Despite her similarity to British vessels the *Massachusetts* caused considerable notice in the East. "On her arrival at Batavia and also at Canton, the Commanders of various foreign vessels came aboard to examine her model. . . . But when her lower hold was opened at Canton, for the first time since she left Boston, she was rotten. She was loaded principally with green masts and spars, taken on board in winter, directly out of the water, with ice and mud on them. The lower deck hatches were caulked down in Boston and when opened at Canton the air was so foul that a lighted candle was put out by it almost as soon as by water. We had four or five hundred barrels of beef in the lower hold placed in the broken stowage and when fresh air was admitted so that men could live under the hatches, the beef was found almost boiled; the hoops were rotted and fallen off and the inside of the ship was covered with blue mould an inch thick."<sup>14</sup>

The cargo had been shipped to sell in Batavia, but legal restrictions had made this impossible. It could not be sold in Canton since there was no demand for it. Accordingly when the Danish Company offered to buy the ship of \$65,000, Shaw was glad enough to sell her. Even with Shaw paying the port charges of about \$5000, if Dennett's estimated cost of the vessel at \$40,000 is correct, there still seems to have been a profit from the voyage.

In the collection of Hacket Papers there is one last

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> "A narrative of events in the life of John Bartlett of Boston, Mass., in the years 1790-1793, during voyages to Canton, etc.," in *The Sea, the Ship and the Sailor*, Pub. No. 7 of the Marine Research Society, annotated by Judge F. W. Howay. The Bartlett Mss. is in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem. This part of Bartlett's narrative corresponds word for word with Delano's *Voyages*, wherein Bartlett is listed as a seaman, and dead when the *Voyages* were published (1817), though in his Preface, p. 19, Delano says: ". . . the responsibility of everything in the book, where credit is not given, is entirely my own."

letter from Captain Prince after his return to America:

Mr. Wm. Hackett

Salisbury

Boston June 6 1791

Dear Sir

I thank you for your kind congratulation on my return, and on my part do assure you that I have a singular satisfaction in having it in my power to say that the ship Massachusetts surpassed even our most sanguine expectations, that she met the approbation of all the Europeans at Canton & tho there eyes were open to spy defects & there tongues ready to find fault, they confessed they could not. . . . I will write you very fully & make some remarks that I think might be of service should you build another ship of her size. . . .

Job Prince

The remarks, if sent, are not among the papers in this collection. They would probably be interesting.

Dimentions of masts and yards for the ship building at Germantown. 1788 - Dec.

(*The Massachusetts*)

	Ft. long	In. diam		Ft. long	In. diam		feet to the rigen	In. Diam-
Main Mast	85	28	Topmast	53	16	T -Gallant	26	9
Fore "	78	28	"	51	16	"	24	9
Mizzen "	73	20	"	36	12	"	18	6
Bowsprit	52	27½	Jib Boom	41-11½		Driver boom	55-10½	
	Ft. long							
Main Yard	75		Topsail	51		Top gallant	37-	
Fore Yard	69		"	49		" "	35	
Mizzen "	62		"	37		" "	25	
Sprit Sail "	51		Cross jack yard	51-				
Spritsail			Topsail yard—	26-				
Ensing staff—	30		Jack staffed	15				
Spare topmast & yards—	vize—					In. diam		
				L				
1 Main topmast —				53		16		
1 Fore topmast				51		16		
1 Mainyard 75 ft. long			Topsail yard	51				
1 Foreyard 69			"	"		49		

The diameter of the yds is one inch to every 4 feet in Lenth in the mid(d)le or stings (?) when made, so the spars, and also the masts, are to be cut as much bigger than the

above dimentions, as what is necessary to take off to make them compleet(?) agreeable to the dimentions above.

Let the standing masts and Bowsprit by almens be of the best of Pine, and well examined as to Defects, and clear of nots as possible and also the other masts and yards straight and free from nots as may be.

Mem<sup>o</sup> of Pine Plank for the Poop Deck & Sizes

40 in Number                      Length 34 Ft. - In.

Breadth at the But end                      10

“ “ “ Top                                      8

Thickness                                      2 $\frac{1}{4}$

To be free from sap and nots etc.

Dimentions for Plank etc. for the ship building at Braintree  
(*The Massachusetts*)

*M*

1000	of 5	inches	from 12 to 14	wide	from 40 to 50	long
800	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	“	“	13	“	“ “ “ “ “
2500	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	“	“	12 to 14		
800	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	“	“	12 to 14 -		
14000	4	“	“	12 to 20 -	from 30 to 50	feet
1000	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	“	“	12 to 14	“ 40 “ 50	“
14000	3	-	-			

34100.

The above plank to be all White Oak of the best kind.

20 Wale Pieces 12 x 13 Inches and long as possible

12 Wale Pieces for Waterways 13 x 14 long also

Dimentions of Beams for the Ship building at Germantown  
(*The Massachusetts*)

<i>Lower Deck Beams</i>			<i>Gun Deck Beams</i>		
No.	Lenth	Breadth sided	No.	Lenth	Breadth
	Ft. In.	In.		Ft. In.	In.
1	28	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	29	14
2	32 + (in pencil)		2	33	
3	34 + ( “ “ )		3	34-6	
foremasts			4	35-3	
4	35 + ( “ “ )		5	35-9	
5	35 + 6		6	36	
6	36 +		7	36	
7	36 +		8	36	
8	36 + ( “ “ )		9	36	



9	36+	( " " )	10	36	
10	36+	( " " )	11	36	
11	36+	( " " )	12	36	15
12	36+	( " " ) 15	Main hatch		
Main hatch			13	36	15
13	36+	15	14	35-6	
14	35+6		15	35	
Main Masts			16	34-6	
15	35		17	34	
16	34-6		18	33-6	
17	34+		19	32-9	
18	33-6	14½	20	32-6	
19	32+9 ( " " )		21	32-3	
20	32+6		22	31-9	
21	32+		23	31	
22	31+		24	30	
23	30+	14	25	29	
24	29+				

## Uper Deck Beams

Number of uper Deck Beams 26

Lenth from 29 feet to 32

Inches

Sided or Breadth 11

Deep in the middle 10

at the ends 8

1 Piece for cheeks for the main masts 46 feet long 24 by 18 inches

12 feet from the but.

1 Ditto for the Foremast 44 feet long 24 by 18 inches

12 feet from the But.

No. 141 Wale Pieces 13 x 12 In. and long as possible

No. 14 Waterway (?) pieces 14 x 13 Long also

Dimentionions of Ship Woster (Worcester) ats (?) 800 tons

	Ft.	In.
Length of Keel	116	
Beam	36	
Scantling timber heads	1	- 1
Depth of hold	13	-
With from Lower Deck to Gun Deck	5	- 10
Gun Deck to Uper Deck	6	- 3½
Upper deck to Gunwale	1	- 6
Hight of the Poop	6	- 5

(Note that most of these dimensions are repeated in the more complete list which follows, though there is some variation)

Dimensions of Ship <i>Worcester</i> at ( ? ) 800 tons		Ft.	In.
Length of keil		116	-
Bredth of Beam		36	
Scantling Timber at floor head		1	- 1
Depth of hold to the lower deck		13	-
Heighth from lower deck to Gundeck		5	- 10
Gundeck to upper deck		6	- 3½
Upper deck to Gunwale		1	- 3
Bredth on upper Deck at the Main Masts		28:	10
	The Chest Tree	29:	10
Heigth of the Poop		6.	5
Forecastle Trunk for Stys below the upper deck	1	-	11
Heigth from upper deck to upper part forecastle	1	-	11
From forecastle to Gunwale	1.		1
Length of the upper Deck	145:		6
Thickness plank on Topsides 3 In., of Top Timber			
9 In., the wales 6 In. First streak under the			
wale 5 In. Second 4¾ Third 4½ Fourth 4¼ Fifth 4 In.			
Heighth from Keil to Gunwale 28 ft 4 In.			
Thickness lower deck beams 14 In. by 11 Inches.			
Gun Deck Beams		13½	by 11
Upper Deck Beams		9½	by 7½

Samuel Parkman at ( ? ) N 5

Masts & Yards		In.	Ft.		In.	Ft.		In.	Ft.
		diam.	long		diam.	long		diam.	long
Main Mast	27 84			Topmast	15½	& 50		Gallant	8½ & 24½
									to the rigging
Fore "	27 77			"	15½	48		"	8½ & 22½
									to the rigging
Mizzen "	20 73			"	12	34		"	5½ & 17½
									to the rigging
Bowsprit	27 52			Jibb boom	11 & 41			Driver boom	10½ & 55
Main Yard	74			Topsail	50			Gallant	36
Fore "	68			"	48			"	34
Mizzen "	62			"	37			"	25
Sprit sail "	50			Cross Jack Yard	50				

Received the foregoing dimensions from the carpenter of the *Worcester*.

The *Worcester* has only thirteen ports of a side. The Super-

intendent will be pleased to order this or such number between it and sixteen as he shall judge best.

It is indicative of American ship building that the masts and yards were slightly larger in most instances on the *Massachusetts*.

### SAMUEL McINTIRE BILLS FOR CARVING

---

Owner of the Brig <sup>t</sup> Pompey to Saml McIntire, Dr.	
to Carving the Starn & Quarter pieces	£40. 0.0
a Knee measuring 6 feet @ 5/ pr ft	5. 0.0
Pr Catfaces @ 5/ each	1.67.0
4 double Scrowles @ 4/6 each	3. 0.0
	<hr/>
	£49.67.0

Salem 14<sup>th</sup> Sept 1802

Received Payment in full  
Samuel M<sup>c</sup>Intire

---

Capt. Joshuay Ward to E & J. Sanderson, Dr.	
to 4 mahogany Chair frames @ 30/	6.0.0
to Mr. Mack Intire's Bill for Carving do. @ 5/4	1.1.4
	<hr/>
	£7.1.4

Salem July 20, 1795

Received Pay  
E & J. Sanderson



MORE  
**WONDERS**  
OF THE  
INVISIBLE WORLD:

Or, The Wonders of the  
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Display'd in Five Parts.

Part I. An Account of the Sufferings of *Margaret Rule*, Written by the Reverend Mr. C. M.

P. II. Several Letters to the Author, &c. And his Reply relating to Witchcraft.

P. III. The Differences between the Inhabitants of *Salem-Village*, and Mr. *Parris* their Minister, in *New-England*.

P. IV. Letters of a Gentleman uninterested, Endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft to be Orthodox. With short Essays to their Answers.

P. V. A short Historical Account of Matters of Fact in that Affair.

To which is added, A Postscript relating to a Book intitled, *The Life of Sir WILLIAM PHIPS*.

---

Collected by *Robert Calef*, Merchant, of *Boston* in *New-England*.

---

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

---

**LONDON:**

Printed for *Nath. Hillar*, at the *Princes-Arms*, in *London-Hall-street*, over against *St. Mary-Ae*, and *Joseph Collier*, at the *Golden-Bible*, on *London-Bridge*. 1700.



## ROBERT CALEF AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY ANNE CALEF BOARDMAN

A genealogy may be, for those who consult it, little more than a list of names and dates conveniently arranged. Those who compile its facts and figures, however, find it something quite different, for which dates and names are but the framework. It is a panorama that this family presents—the social history in miniature of this land from Massachusetts Bay to the Golden Gate.

The Calef picture begins dramatically with Robert, the emigrant, a man of sanity and public spirit, unmoved alike by the hysteria of the witchcraft delusion or by the “great” of his day. His sons, his sons-in-law, his grandsons, are builders of the industries of Boston and thereabouts. They are land owners and often physicians, Sons’ sons followed the sea or pushed into the forests to the north, eastward and westward. Short lives often and no families for those Calef seamen, as is the fate of sailors; but for the frontiersmen many sons and daughters, and the danger, greater than that of the sea, of Indian raids. Neither perils nor failures held them back from clearing new land, felling trees and building mills, while the daughters, careless of hardship, set up new homes further north and further east and further west, till the Revolution broke and for the time gave pause to settlement.

The Boston Tea Party numbered three Calef cousins among its participants. Continental muster rolls give records of many a Calef soldier and sailor. One young seaman, captured by the British, was confined in Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, but escaped to take command of a brig, famous for its capture of a British ship. At about the same time a Tory cousin was laboring in London to have Eastern Maine set off as a loyal colony, but the Revolution found few Tories in the family.

The exhaustion of the country after the war, is marked among the Calefs as the beginning, for a goodly number, of their trek west, first to northern Pennsylvania. Later they are in Minnesota, Illinois, on the Plains, and early in California and Oregon. It is a pity that stories of these pioneers are lacking, for they were of those who built, bit by bit, hardship by hardship, courage by courage, the empire beyond the Alleghanies.

In New England the Calefs pushed north from Boston to Exeter and Portsmouth and shared in the founding of Chester, Sanbornton and other New Hampshire towns. A few of their early homesteads are still standing, some with the old family burying ground not far away. In one such, under the shadow of Calef Hill, generations of Calefs lie—forever a part of the stern land they loved.

There was no divided family when the Civil War came. Their record, of names scattered west and east, is a symbol of the thousands of other families whose sons bore their part, privates and officers, prisoners, wounded, killed, in the life and death struggle to which the land was foredoomed.

This genealogy is a continuation and amplification of the work of Mr. William Wallace Lunt of the Hingham Historical Society, published in 1928. His data has been compared with whatever information has since come to hand, new records added and, where there is slight disagreement, such as in the spelling of a name, the reading adopted that seems, on the evidence presented, the more probable. In a few instances, where the differences were important, the records have been reviewed and the reasons for decisions arrived at are given under the entries. There has, outside of this comparison, been no attempt to re-verify in detail the dates and lists as they already exist. The present editor has accepted the careful work of her forerunner, and has simply tried to give to the members of the Calef family information till now scattered and largely inaccessible.

It is impossible to vouch for the accuracy of many anecdotes included, since these rest mainly upon family

tradition, but nothing of which there seems reason for doubt has been used.

One question, however, demands more complete treatment. It has been largely taken for granted that all Calefs in the United States are descendants of Robert, but Mr. Lunt himself was uneasy over the appearance of an unknown Stephen and an unattached Jonathan in records of Charlestown, Mass. He finally gave both, with a question mark, to Peter (11). No official record has been found, however, giving Peter a son Stephen, while a Jonathan of the same time and place had a son Stephen. To add to the puzzle, an earlier Stephen was in Charlestown in 1700 petitioning the Massachusetts Committee on Claims as to lands in the "Eastern Country." The boundaries had been destroyed in the Indian War of the preceding ten years, and Stephen claimed "a tract of land lying within the towns of Edgecomb and Newcastle, and bounded as follows, viz: beginning at Sheepscot Falls over a cove to a parcel of marsh on the other side of the river which bounds it from the Burnt Islands, which is the northerly end thereof, and from thence to a freshet called the Oven's Mouth, also one full sixth part of two three hundred acre lots laid out in Sheepscot to David Allen formerly of Boston, deceased, which land was conveyed by Thomas and Francis Allen to Samuel Calef, uncle to said Stephen."

This record leaves no doubt that there were a Samuel and a Stephen Calef in this country before 1700 who are not included in any known records of Robert's family. That this first Stephen may be the father of the Jonathan who had a boy Stephen (39) baptized in Charlestown, February 13th, 1743, is a reasonable guess, but upheld only by the indirect evidence of lack of any other father for Jonathan. It is a curious fact, however, that among the descendants of Jonathan and his son, the second Stephen (39), of whom there chance to be full records, the name Stephen is found frequently, while hardly used at all in the lines of the undoubted descendants of Robert. On the other hand, the name of Robert is found in all other early Robert lines, but not once in that of Stephen

(39). Also, Stephen's branch spelled the name "Califf" from the time of the son of Stephen (39).

Since there is not such documentary proof as to justify the division of the family between two ancestors, Robert and Stephen, the usage of Mr. Lunt in keeping Stephen's (39) descent from Peter (11) has been followed, but the name (Califf) is inserted with all entries of this line. The alternative descent would read Stephen, Jonathan, Stephen (39).

In Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," a James Calef "at Rowley, 1644" heads the Calef list—but with no further information. When he came, what he did, where he went, is all unknown, but with a James in Rowley, a Robert in Boston, a Samuel in what is now Maine, before 1700, one wonders if after all the Calef family may not have possessed two of the proverbial three brothers.

Happily for the genealogist "Uncle Samuel" seems to have done nothing more complicating than to buy forests while the Indians were still peering between the branches. So the descendants of "possibly Peter" as Mr. Lunt in despair of finding further data, described them, are left to take their choice of forebear between the emigrant Robert and Stephen of the Maine woods.

This task has been a labor of love, born of the memory of the deep interest taken by Major Benjamin Shreve Calef of Boston, and by Judge Calef of Middletown, in preserving for future Calefs the record of their forebears, whose lives were built, staunch and true, into this our land. Loyalty to the old name, to what it stood for and still demands from those who bear it today, has been expressed in letters from many parts of the country. "My son is Robert Calef," writes a man from the south—as do others from northern and far western states. What more could Robert Calef ask than that his children's children, cherishing his name through the generations, should so honor, through him, a fearless devotion to truth and justice.

A. C. B.

1. ROBERT CALEF, the emigrant, of Boston and Roxbury, Mass., b. probably abt. 1648, England; d. 13 April 1719, Roxbury, Mass., "aged 71"; m. abt. 1670, Mary —, b. —; d. 12 Nov. 1719, Roxbury.

Children, born probably in England:

- 2 i JOSEPH, b. abt. 1671.
- 3 ii ROBERT, b. abt. 1674.
- 4 iii JOHN, b. abt. 1675.
- 5 iv JEREMIAH, b. abt. 1683.
- 6 v MARTHA.
- 7 vi MARY, b. 1686.

Children, born at Boston:

- vii EDWARD, b. 30 Jan. 1688.
- viii DANIEL, b. 27 Dec. 1691; d. 13 April 1712; buried in Eliot Cemetery, Roxbury.

The first record found of Robert and Mary Calef is that of the baptism of their son Edward at the New South Church, Boston, in 1688. In what year they came to this new land, and whether James Calef, forty years before in Rowley, and Sammel Calef, land owner in "the Eastern Country," now Maine, before 1700, were kin, are questions for the curious. All we know is that there were six children in the home of the doughty merchant when Edward was born, and since no record of their baptisms is found, it may safely be taken that they had been born in England, though their town is still to discover.

The family is of English origin. Camden's "Remains of Britaine" gives the epitaph of Sir John Calfe who lived in the days of Henry III, 1216 to 1270. A century later "the Danish King Waldemar IV gave to the nobleman Calf, his intimate friend, the Castle of Ripon, in Jutland" as is told in Sinding's "History of Scandinavia." In the Church of St. Nicholas in London, is an inscription to the memory of one John Calfe, dated 1426, and "Visitations" of several churches, as St. George's and St. Paul's, have references to Calfe or Calef.

Coming closer to Robert the emigrant is the will of Jerome Calfe made on the 11th of February 1640, at Stansted, England. Jerome left his goods to his brothers,



Joseph, Robert, Edward, and to a nephew, Jerome, son of a brother William. These names are borne by sons and grandsons of Robert of Boston, save Jerome, and if that were used as a form of Jeremiah, the coincidence is complete.

Robert held continuing relations with the mother country, for he was part owner at different times of four vessels, the *Three Brothers*, captured from the French in July, 1696; the *Unity*, the *Katharine*, and late in life, the *Adventure*. Through the eighteenth century his grandsons and great grandsons were in close business relations with the London firm of Robert Calef and John Chuter, of 18 St. Mary's Axe, later of Old City Chambers, Bishopgate Street. It is noteworthy, too, that this firm came forward at once, without solicitation, to contribute to the fund raised in London for the sufferers from the Boston fire of 1787.

Legend, which his career in the new world gives no reason to doubt, says that Robert was well educated, attended one of the universities, was liberal in his views and, due to too sympathetic defense of the Quakers, found it well to leave England. He established himself as a merchant and cloth maker, and was soon one of Boston's solid citizens, serving as administrator of three estates in 1690 and appointed constable in 1691. He had reached Boston in an evil day, however, for men of his temper. The belief in witchcraft, throughout Europe for four centuries the source of untold mental anguish, of persecution and of hideous deaths, had crossed the Atlantic in the mental luggage of the settlers. Increase Mather, president of Harvard, had published his "Illustrious Providences" in 1684, and his son Cotton Mather had followed this in 1689 by "Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions." The delusion came to its head in Salem in 1692 where five men and women, protesting their innocence, were hung in one day. In all, twenty were executed and many lay in prison before sanity returned. The Salem hangings had given pause

to the hysteria and the governor, Sir William Phips, coming back to Boston from an expedition against the French and Indians, thought matters were going too far. He dismissed the court he had set up and released the accused awaiting trial.

This might have seemed the end of the terror, but early in the next year another case of witchcraft was announced, this time in the North Church, the special domain of the Mathers, and Robert Calef went with others to visit this young woman, Margaret Rule, when Increase and Cotton Mather were both to be there. A description of Calef on this occasion exists in an article in the *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette* of September 7, —, by Walter Littlefield.

"He (Mather) was confronted by a little gentleman dressed entirely in black, whose dark eyes snapped with angry intelligence toward the parson, who had just entered; this individual was Robert Calef, a man who had read a great deal, and thought a great deal, and who earned his daily bread by carrying on the trade of a clothier. He had made a study of the case of the invalid during Mather's absence, and had come to the conclusion that she was simply the victim of nervous prostration, that was fast approaching insanity under the management of the deluded pastor. Words arose between the two in the sick chamber; Calef always calm and logical, Mather rapidly waxing passionate, until, losing his temper entirely, he told his opponent that he was 'one of the worst liars'—and left the house in a rage."

The result of this encounter was a series of letters and a description of the examination made by the two clergymen of the poor woman that caused Cotton Mather to have Calef arrested for slander, and to decry him from the pulpit.

Calef appears to have been unperturbed by the arrest, and used part of his time while on bail to write further to the incensed minister. The case was dismissed, no one appearing against Robert, but he still persisted in his demand for a reply to his questions. What he asked for and never got was scripture warrant for the definition of witchcraft and for the methods used to discover witches,

that had led to "a biggotted zeal stirring up a most Blind and Bloody rage not against enemies or irreligious, profligate persons, but against as virtuous and as religious as any they have left behind them in this country," and "occasioning great Dishonour and Blasphemy of the name of God, . . . and as a natural effect thereof . . . great increase of Atheism".

He analyzes the doctrines behind this madness to their logical conclusions, to a universe ruled by two powers, God and the Devil, and declares that the leaders are but the ancient Manicheans come to life; that the Indians share their belief and that the Papists borrowed it from the heathen. He is afire with indignation over "that hobgoblin monster witchcraft, whereby this country was nightmared" and in his horror at the events he blames the learning of the day, the "heathen philosophies," in which he himself had probably been trained, as the source of these diabolical beliefs. When Cotton Mather offers the use of his library that Calef may become better informed on the subject which he is daring to discuss, he retorts, "I thank God I have the Bible, and I do judge that sufficient to demonstrate the foundation of Religion." "That there are witches is not in doubt, the scriptures else were in vain which affirm their punishment to be death, but what this witchcraft is and wherein it does consist seems to be the whole difficulty."

The "levitation" of Margaret Rule he turns back upon her minister with the comment, that, if true, it appears to settle the question "long controverted between the Protestants and Papists, whether miracles are ceased," in favor of the Papists!

His letters infuriate Cotton Mather to such phrases as "vile fool," "instrument of Satan," "coal from Hell," but while Calef was always studiously courteous the flashes of satire and again of humor make no doubt that he is enjoying the combat. His relish is plain to read in the postscript which he adds to a respectful letter in 1693, to report the comment made by an Indian to a Captain Hill at Saco Fort. "French ministers," said the Indian, "are better than English ministers, for before the French

came there were a great many witches among the Indians, but now there are none, and there are witches among the English ministers, as Burroughs, who was hanged for it."

"Were I disposed to make reflections upon it," adds Calef, "I suppose you will judge the field large enough, but I forbear."

He inquires, in his reply to an "uninterested gentleman" who came to the defense of the witchcraft theory, if good angels, only able to go on missions when sent by God, are not therefore less powerful than fallen angels who, according to the teachings in question, could and did "go to and fro on the earth seeking whom they may devour." Perhaps his neatest conclusion is written also to this defender of orthodoxy. "The Romanists are much obliged to you for making transubstantiation . . . to be of as old a date as the appearance of devils, and that the one implieth no more contradiction than the other: if so we do well to think seriously whether we are not guilty of great sin in separating from them . . ."

His account of certain of the witchcraft cases follows these various letters and really completes the book, but the appearance of a laudatory "Life of Sir William Phips" was more than Calef could endure in silence. He adds to his book a "Postscript," not carefully considered like his letters, but red hot. Though Phips's biography had been issued without signature, Calef remarks that "it were not witchcraft to determine that Mr. Cotton Mather is the author of it." Then follows a seathing review that yields us one more fact about Robert himself. He was as opposed to the political theories of the Mathers as he was to their theology.

No Boston printer would risk printing this handful of dynamite and the papers travelled to England where they found a publisher, Nath. Hillar of London. Calef may have sent them to those London Calefs whose relationship was closer than mere business, or have taken them over himself. They did not come back till 1700, and then the booksellers eyed askance the beautiful small quarto, hardly more than a pamphlet. They saw only danger to themselves in reopening the controversy that had lain a few



years quiet, and refused counter room. How the author dealt with the edition one cannot guess. President Increase Mather "ordered the wicked book to be burnt in the College Yard"—presumably he had a copy. Cotton Mather had one, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Governor Bellomont's copy was sent him by Robert with an inscription in the author's beautiful and clear writing, and is now one of the treasures of the New York Public Library. The Mathers themselves saw to it that the book should be well advertised, for they encouraged the printing of a reply by a group of members of the North Church. This bears the title "Some few remarks on a Scandalous Book against the Government and Ministry of New England, by one Robert Calef, detecting the unparalelled malice and falsehood of said book, composed and published by several persons belonging to the flock of some of the injured pastors, and concerned for their justification, printed in Boston, 1701."

Here was the end of the episode. Judges and jury were coming to their senses and confessing their error. The people were awaking from the nightmare, shocked at what they had approved. Of Calef, twenty-five years later Mather's son Thomas said, "The man is dead, his book died long before him." It was however still so alive that it was worth while to reprint it in 1796. There were several editions in the last century and a partial reprint is included in Burr's authoritative study of Calef published in 1914. Hutchinson, closely related to the Mathers, writes in his "History of Massachusetts" of Calef as 'a fair man, who substantiated his facts', and Andrew D. White in "Warfare of Science and Theology" places him beside Montaigne, Voltaire, and Tomasius in his effort for right reason.

There has been dispute as to authorship, some attributing the work to Robert, son of the emigrant, but a comparison of the two handwritings, were there no internal evidence that thought and phrase are those of a mature man, has settled that question. Also it has been held that Calef was in a fashion a mouthpiece and helped in the compositions by those who would not come out into the



Great Seal

I have lay out the front of your Excellency  
the book in it. More Wonders of the Invisible World.  
I had it not been too much fragment  
to a fine of honor with a name to be there in a book  
in your of this has been a dedication to your  
Excellency. I expect it will meet with a  
reception in general. I expect the in the  
of the top of the in and honor your Excellency  
Government. I am not but I am to my self  
I shall have the one of the in your  
favorable consideration of the whole  
will abundantly recommend your  
one of the in the not very  
in your Government - Robert Calf

INSCRIPTION IN THE PRESENTATION COPY OF "MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD,"  
FROM ROBERT CALF TO THE GOVERNOR

Courtesy of the New York Public Library



open, Mr. Brattle, brother of the treasurer of Harvard being especially named. The Brattles had no need to hide behind Calef, both suffering for sufficiently outspoken criticism of the court and church proceedings. Calef no doubt consulted with others of like mind. He lays no claim to learning, but "that his reading is larger than he cares to parade" writes Burr, "is evident to the student of the literature of witchcraft."

Whether or not his single-handed attack on the mighty injured him financially, it did not apparently hurt his standing in the community. Indeed, as though one risk were not enough, in the midst of the fray he, with Thomas Banister, went bail for Thomas Maule, a Quaker of Salem, who had published a book about that sect, "Truth held Forth and Maintained." It is likely that this is the work described by Cotton Mather as "That vile book of Tom Maule's which the General Court condemned unto the flames."

Defender of outcasts as he was and no respecter of persons, Calef's fellow townsmen trusted him. He was fence viewer, clerk of the market, appraiser. He was called as juror of inquest, commissioner of an estate, arbitrator in a dispute as to a ship's cargo of "blaekin' and starch." He was for several years overseer of the poor with Judge Sewall, who calls at his house to talk over the town's charities. At the time of his removal to Roxbury in 1710, he was tithing-man, an office of dignity, tapping the heads of drowsy parishioners and restless girls and boys being but the lighter part of its duties.

In Roxbury he and Mary had a dozen quiet years in which they watched their children make their way as substantial citizens. Daniel, the youngest child, died and was buried in the Eliot Cemetery. The daughter Mary married Roxbury's physician, Dr. Stevens, and lived near by. The other daughter was in Portsmouth. Sons were in near-by Boston and Ipswich and pioneering in New Hampshire and there were already a few books in these new homes, and bits of silver. In Roxbury, Robert himself set up loom and dye house, bought and leased tracts of land, still ventured in foreign trade and

served his fellowtownsmen as selectman until the day came when he knew that he had fought his last battle. Trusted neighbors were called and children and a grandson, and the old man told what was to be done with his property. In another room these friends wrote down what he had told them and signed it. The will, in this rare form gave everything to the beloved wife, Mary to be divided after her death among the children. It was a large property. Mary outlived her husband by but a few months, and the grandson, Joseph, was years in settling the estate. A lawsuit as to a lease in Dorchester ran until 1771. Mary's family name is nowhere given, but close friends and next-door neighbors were the Dorrs, and their names and Mary's are found together on deeds that suggest family ownership.

Among the immediate descendants of Robert and Mary Calef there is one fact noticeable that might be laid to the door of Robert's passage at arms with the Mathers. All the family were good church folk, subscribing to steeples and bells and owning pews and helping to choose ministers; but, unlike many families of like standing, there were no clergymen among them before the Rev. Jonathan Calef, born in 1762, and few indeed thereafter. There were merchants, sailors, farmers, teachers and physicians often, but not ministers.

Whittier, writing a century and a half later of the bitterness born of those hideous witch-ridden days, faces forward, in the close of his lines on "Calef of Boston."

When the thought of man is free  
Error flees its lightest tones

Evil can but serve the right  
Over all shall Love endure.

Today we know a little more of the power and the peril of mass psychology and of fear, so look more understandingly on those who yield, while honoring those who, like Robert Calef, are wise and brave enough to withstand injustice.

2 JOSEPH (Robert) of Ipswich, Mass., b. probably abt. 1671, England; d. 28 Dec. 1707, Ipswich; m. 2 May

1693, Boston, by Rev. James Allen, Mary Ayer, b. 6 Aug. 1666, Haverhill, Mass.; d. 1743, Ipswich; dau. of "Cor-net" Peter and Hannah (Allen) Ayer, Haverhill.

Children, born at Ipswich:

- 8     i   ROBERT, b. 12 Dec. 1693.
- 9     ii  JOSEPH, b. 20 May 1695.
- iii {SAMUEL, b. 25 Jan. 1697; d. 11 Sept. 1720, unm.
- 10    iv  {EBENEZER, b. 25 Jan. 1697.
- 11    v   PETER, b. 27 Oct. 1699.
- 12    vi  MARY, b. 12 June 1708 (posthumous).

Joseph added the profession of physician to that of clothier. Mary Ayer's father was a merchant in Boston, and a large landowner in Haverhill. In 1691-2 in Ipswich, "Mr. Joseph Calef had a grant of land with Liberty to Sett up a Fulling Mill in any Convenient place not allreddy given or granted to another . . . provided it be done and finished within twelve months after this day upon These conditions that he full cloth for ye Inhabitants for their pay sooner than for other townsmen." A fulling mill and saw mill on Mill River were finished just in time for the wedding, and the young people set up housekeeping with an uncommonly good start in life for those pioneer days.

In 1699 he is one of the subscribers for the bell of the New Meeting House and his seat in the church is one of position. In Ipswich the women of the leading families sat against the wall and "ye fifth pew on ye south east side of ye great door" was Mary's. Joseph sat with the men in the fourth seat, one occupied only by those bearing titles of respect. His stone in the First Parish graveyard reads:

Here Lyes What Was Mortal of Mr Joseph Calef who Died December ye 28, 1707 in ye 36 year of His age.

Mary Ayer was an able woman and brought up the six children and a grandson well. Not until all her children were grown up did she marry Thomas Choate and so happy were the relations with this stepfather that he left a legacy to her daughter Mary Calef White, while his son by a former marriage, Col. John Choate, was the guardian of her orphan grandson, John Calef, and left



him a legacy. Her grave is in the old Essex yard which once was a part of Ipswich, then called Chebacco, where was Thomas Choate's home.

3 ROBERT (Robert) of Boston, b. probably abt. 1674, in England; d. 4 Dec. 1722, Chatham, Mass.; m. 23 Dec. 1699, Boston, Margaret Barton; d. btw. May and Sept. 1744; dau. of James and Margaret Barton of Boston and Newton, Mass.

Children, born at Boston:

- i JAMES, b. 21 Dec. 1702; d. young.
- 13 ii ELIZABETH, b. 7 May 1704.
- 14 iii ANN, b. 7 July 1708.
- 15 iv MARGARET, b. 4 Oct. 1709.
- v JAMES, b. 24 Feb. 1711; d. 13 Jan. 1713.
- vi MARY, b. 25 Jan. 1712; d. young.
- vii JAMES, b. 7 Nov. 1714; living in 1753, Bath, N. C.
- viii ROBERT, b. 24 Feb. 1716; d. before 1720.

Robert, jr., spelled his name "Calfe" and signed it in an upright handwriting. He and Margaret Barton were married, as were others of his family, by the well-known clergyman of the New South Church, the Reverend James Allen. Robert followed his father's trade of cloth maker, and bought himself his first outfit in 1699—"one copper, one press with press paper, two looms with all the tackling." But by 1707-8 he sold many of his tools and had turned to "trading" in goods and in lands.

He was clerk of the market in 1706, constable the following year, and member of Captain Savage's company. In 1710 he was made a member of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company.

In 1711 as "shopkeeper" he, with others, leased for ninety-nine years from his father-in-law, James Barton, a wharf and warehouse in Boston. Judge Sewall mentions calling at Robert's shop, and it is from his diary that we know of the death of the second boy, James, for the Judge went to the funeral.

Though still interchangeably "clothier" and "merchant," Robert was dealing in land in Cambridge, Newton, Brookline, as well as Boston. In 1719 Margaret

acted as his attorney in fact, which suggests that he may have had an illness in that year. This may well explain why he, the eldest son living, was not made administrator of his father's estate.

In 1721 Mary and Robert were of those courageous parents who had Dr. Boylston inoculate their children for small-pox.

He drew his will, singularly well-considered and just, in 1720. It reads:

By the grace of God, Amen. . . . being now in sound body and minde, yett considering my own Naturall frailty of Life doe now make this my last will and testament. First and foremost, committing my Soule into ye hands of All-mighty God, hoping a remishon and pardon of all my Sins in and by ye Merrits of my Saviour and Redeemer, ye Lord Jesus Christ, and then committing my Body to the Earth from whence it was derived in hope of a Glorious Reaserrection at Christ Second Appearance. My Will is that after my Body is Decently Entered according to ye Discretion of my well beloved wife . . . [she] shall have all and Singular ye improvement of my whol Estate during her widdowhood and in case that She Shall See cause to alter her condition by marriage that then She Shall quitt her administration-ship and the Improvement of the Estate wholly to be for the benniffitt of my children, only two hundred pounds I will unto her upon her marriage. . . . my son James shall have one Hundred Pounds when of Age more than aney of the rest of My Children, and allso I doe hereby give and bequeath two Hundred Pounds ought of My Said Estate in order for defraying the charges of bringing him up to the Collig, if he incline to larning, but if not, then to be equally divided among him and the rest of my children.. (viz. Elizabeth, Ann and Margaret) together with what children it Shall please God to give me and my present wife . . . and it is my minde and will that my daughters Elizabeth, Ann and Margaret have an equal proportion of all my whole Estate, both personall and reall, only what is before excepted unto my son James. . . .

Robert was found drowned at Chatham, and a coroner's jury pronounced that he "voluntarily and feloniously, as a felon, of himself, did Kill and murder himself by Drowning himself against the Peace of our Soverign Lord the King, his crown and Dignity."

There is much to make the student discredit the decision of those fourteen citizens. Suicide was looked on with such horror as to be almost unknown. There is nothing in the records to suggest that Robert was of a nervous temperament. Certainly the will, with its just and generous foresight for every member of his family and its provision for possible future children, was drawn up, one would say, by an uncommonly well-balanced person. The excellent marriages made by the three daughters suggest that there was no shadow of disgrace attaching to the family, as would be looked for at that time had the decision been generally accepted. It may not be amiss to weigh also the fact that his father, the fearless opponent of the witchcraft persecutions, was not long dead and many of his enemies still lived. Robert himself was by some believed to be the author of his father's book, so that here was an opportunity to discredit the author that could hardly be overlooked.

The only living son, James, for whose education Robert made careful provision, did not "incline to larning," but became a brazier and was far away in North Carolina when his mother died. He appointed John Scollay of Boston his attorney and sold all the property that was his inheritance. He was living in Bath Town, N. C., in 1753, but nothing further is known of him.

A portrait of Margaret Barton Calef is still owned in the family. Her will gave each of her grandchildren twenty pounds, except Ann and Rebecca Green, who were to have thirty each. The first granddaughter to be married was to have a bed. The fortunate granddaughter was probably Margaret Green, her namesake, who married in 1750, Richard Draper, printer and publisher of the *Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston Weekly News Letter*.

4 JOHN (Robert) of Newbury, Mass.; Nottingham and Chester, N. H.; b. probably abt. 1675 in England; d. btw. March and May, 1748, Chester; m. 10 June 1702, Boston, Mass., by Mr. Sam Willard, Deborah King, bp.

18 May 1679, Hingham, Mass.; d. —; dau. of William and Deborah (Prince) King of Boston.

Children, born at Newbury:

- 16 i JOHN, b. 3 June 1703.
- ii DEBORAH, b. 21 Jan. 1705; d. before 1747.
- 17 iii WILLIAM, b. 17 July 1706.
- 18 iv MARY, b. 4 Feb. 1708.
- 19 v JAMES, b. 31 Jan. 1710.
- 20 vi KING, b. 5 Nov. 1711.
- 21 vii ROBERT, b. 7 May 1715.
- 22 viii JOSEPH, b. 31 Oct. 1718.
- 23 ix DANIEL, b. 10 Jan. 1720.

John was one of the petitioners for the grant of Nottingham, and a grantor of Chester, N. H.

He moved to Chester in 1734, where, when he was sixty, he was granted the "liberty to build a fulling mill at Massabeek brook, between the two Ponds." He was a much-trusted citizen, being appointed to collect the rates from the Newbury proprietors of Chester, one of a committee to adjust the selectman's accounts, and three times himself selectman. In the division of the Chester church into two camps, Presbyterian and Congregational, he was a leader in the latter; on the committee to choose the minister, to sell seats in the meeting house and to set the salary. When after five years of dissension over theology and church taxes, two parishes were set up, he signed a remarkable report on this settlement to the General Court, stating that "since which time they have proceeded in the most cordial manner and have endeavoured to take the best method the circumstances will admit to raise money for the respective ministers."

He and Deborah reared a sturdy family whose members gave good account of themselves. His will made in 1748 reads: "Imprimis, I give to my wife, Deborah, a good and suitable maintenance, in sickness and in health, becoming her quality, during her Natural life, to be rendered to her by my executor." To his six sons he gave twenty shillings each; to the three children of his daughter, Mary Etheridge, ten shillings each. The remainder of his estate he gave to his son Robert, his sole executor.

and to him committed the care and maintenance of Deborah.

Widow Deborah King Calef is said to have married a Robert Smith, but her mother, Deborah King, is also said to have married a man of the same name, which suggests a possible misreading of records.

5 JEREMIAH (Robert) of Portsmouth and Exeter, N. H.; b. abt. 1683, probably in England; d. 6 March 1762, Exeter, "ae 79"; m. 2 Dec. 1708, Portsmouth, Luey Chadbourne; b. —; d. May or June 1752; dau. of James and Elizabeth (Heard) Chadbourne of Kittery, Me.

Children, born at Portsmouth:

- 24 i JEREMIAH, b. abt. 1710.
- 25 ii DANIEL, b. abt. 1713.
- iii LUCY, b. abt. 1715; d. after 1762; m. William French.
- 26 iv JAMES, b. abt. 1720.

Jeremiah, the fourth son of the emigrant, Robert, when about fourteen, apprenticed himself "with the consent of his parents" to Peter Osgood, tanner of Salem, "until he is twenty-one years of age, which will be March 6, 1705."

This apprenticeship served, he went to his sister, Martha Hewes, in Portsmouth, where he set up as a clothier. He married Luey Chadbourne, who brought a dowry, the legacy of her grandmother, Lucy Treworgie Chadbourne, to her new home.

He was again in 1716 at his first trade, when he bought land, a house and tan flats in Portsmouth. Eight years later he was a clothier in Exeter, where he had also a grist mill. He was an original proprietor of Barrington and Gilmanton, N. H., and, like all his brothers, a constant trader in land.

His will, made in 1762, gives to "his son Jeremiah, then abroad," the copper kettle, iron plate and utensils of a clothier, but if he should not return to his native country, these are to go to his "two granddaughters, Lydia and Mary Calef, daughters of his said son, Jeremiah." To his daughter Luey French and his son James he gave



"all my grist mill in Exeter standing at the up Dam on the great river a little below the great bridge."

6 MARTHA (Robert) of Portsmouth, N. H.; Dorchester, Mass.; b. probably in England; m. 28 Sept. 1700, Boston, Solomon Hewes, b. 2 Jan. 1675, Salisbury, N. H.; d. before 1744; son of George and Mary Hewes of Newbury, Mass.

Children, born in Portsmouth:

- i GEORGE, b. 13 Aug. 1701; m. 14 Nov. 1728, Abigail Seaver.
- ii WILLIAM, b. 2 Dec. 1706.
- iii ROBERT, b. 2 Aug. 1708; m. Deborah —; (6 chn.)
- iv DANIEL, b. 4 July 1710; m. Abigail —.
- v SARAH, b. 6 July 1712.
- vi { JOSEPH, b. 22 Dec. 1714.
- vii { BENJAMIN, b. 22 Dec. 1714.
- viii MARY, b. 24 Nov. 1716.
- ix ELIZABETH, b. 28 March 1718.

Solomon Hewes was a "joyner" with several irons in his fire. He bought a quarter share in "a good sloop called 'Hope' . . . riding at anchor in the Merrimack" in 1701. This was for trade with Pennsylvania but proved a troublesome venture one guesses, bringing a lawsuit in its wake. Thereafter he seems to have kept to landsman's tasks.

In 1734 Martha and he bought the rights of the other heirs of her father to the "School Farm in the remote parts of Dorchester," to which the family had removed some years before.

The eldest son, George, was a versatile, energetic person, later described as "a glue-maker, soap-boiler, tanner, tallow chandler," who "perhaps filled up his leisure with other employments." One of his sons, George Twelves Hewes, with others of Calef blood, was among the Indians of the Boston Tea-party. His portrait hangs in the State House at Boston.

Robert, Martha's third son, was a respected physician of Boston. His son Robert, great-grandson of the emigrant, is said to have set up glass works in Concord, N. H.,

shortly after the Revolution, when oiled paper itself was a luxury. The art was all to learn. Some successful attempts were being made in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but these were too far away to help New England. A fire destroyed Robert Hewes' first furnace. The second also met disaster. His own funds were used up and he appealed to the government for help in establishing the greatly needed industry. No support was granted, however, and he seems to have left Boston since there is a notice of a Robert Hewes, maker of crown glass, in Hartford, in 1788.

7 MARY (Robert) of Roxbury, b. probably in England; d. Nov. 1764, Roxbury; m. 10 Sept. 1712, Roxbury, 2nd wife of Dr. Samuel Stevens, b. 30 March 1682, Roxbury; d. —; son of Capt. Timothy and Sarah (Davis) Stevens.

Children, born at Roxbury:

- i MARY, b. 2 July 1713; d. 14 Jan. 1803; m. 29 May 1740, Joseph Warren.
- ii DOROTHY, b. Feb. 1715.
- iii TIMOTHY, b. 21 April 1717.
- iv ABIGAIL, b. 25 Oct. 1720.
- v ELIZABETH, b. 22 Dec. 1725.

"At the death of Capt. Samuel Stephen's wife the expense of mourning apparel was avoided according to the new method of the town of Boston, which meets with general approval." So wrote the Roxbury correspondent of the *Boston Gazette*, probably about 1764, since we read in Drake's *History of Roxbury*, "The extravagances and cost of funerals grew so burdensome" that in that year "the custom of presenting gloves except to bearers, was given up."

Dr. or Captain Stevens was one of those who signed the letter to the Rev. Mr. Adams of the Roxbury First Congregational Church asking that Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms be used instead of the New England version, a request that shows him abreast of his times but does not say much for his literary taste.

The only son, Dr. Timothy, was warned out of Wren-

tham in 1766, but for the reason there is no clue. Mary, the eldest child, married a farmer, Joseph Warren, and was left a widow with four boys to rear. Of these the eldest was General Joseph Warren, who had graduated from Harvard at eighteen, at twenty-three was established in Boston as a physician, was president of the Provincial Congress, and fell at Bunker Hill.

Mary Warren, herself, was a character of note, living in full faculty till ninety. "An unshaken confidence in the rectitude of the Divine government rendered her fine and serene through every stage of life. . . . It was this that heightened her relish for social intercourse . . . the cheerfulness it inspired together with an uncommon strength of mind made her, at a period of life which is usually but labor and sorrow, the welcome companion of the young and aged. . . ."

8. ROBERT (Joseph, Robert) of Ipswich, Mass., b. 12 Dec. 1693, Ipswich; d. 12 July 1730, Ipswich; m. 3 Nov. 1723, Ipswich, Margaret Staniford, b. 29 Nov. 1695; d. 7 Oct. 1727; dau. of Deacon John and Margaret (Harris) Staniford, Ipswich.

Children, born at Ipswich:

- i MARGARET, bp. 8 Nov. 1724; d. abt. 1733.
- 27 ii JOHN, b. 30 Aug. 1726.
- iii JOSEPH, b. 1727(?); d. before 1730.

Robert was one of the third generation to follow the family trade. In 1714-15 he bought for forty-five pounds of Francis Compton, innholder of Ipswich, a third part of "ye Island In Ipswich at a place called the falls . . . with one full third part of ye fulling and saw mill near adjoining thereto, together with all utensells thereto belonging to said third part of said Island and Mill, as Saws, Iron Crows, with all other appurtenances of what sort of kind soever, to said Mills belonging . . . and interest in ye water course thereto appertaining . . . " Here it may be taken that he carried on his business till he sold it in 1729, shortly before his death. In the records of his dealing in land we get the sense of a settled

country through the phrases: "old wood lot," "old upland rights."

He and Margaret died young, leaving two little children to the care of their grandmother Mary Ayer, the widow of Joseph Calef.

Robert left to his daughter, Margaret, then perhaps six years old, "all such things whether plate, Jewells, Lining or things whatsoever (that are put up in trunks) that were her mothers', also all such things as my Honoured Fathere Staniford has in custody That were her Mothers also I give unto my daughter my Negro Girl: also a full third part of all the rest of my estate whether Real, personell or movable."

All else went to his son John. Margaret died before she was old enough to open those trunks and there is a little account to a Mrs. Blair for gloves for Margaret's funeral and another for eight rings. Her uncle, Joseph Calef, administered her estate.

9 JOSEPH (Joseph, Robert) of Boston, Mass.; Cape Elizabeth, Me.; b. 20 May 1695, Ipswich, Mass.; d. before 29 Oct. 1781, Boston; m. 9 Nov. 1718, Newbury, Mass., Hannah Jordan, b. 1693, Spurwinck, Cape Elizabeth; d. 1772, Boston; dau. of Captain Dominicus and Hannah (Tristram) Jordan of Newbury.

Children, born at Boston:

- i SARAH, b. 13 Nov. 1719; m. Col. Jabez Matthews.
- ii SAMUEL, b. 22 July 1722; d. infancy.
- iii { SAMUEL, b. 4 Nov. 1724; d. Feb. 1803, Cape Elizabeth, unkm.
- 28 iv { JOSEPH, b. 4 Nov. 1724.
- v HANNAH, bp. 19 March 1726; d. young.
- vi EBENEZER WINTER, b. 18 May 1729; d. after 1806, Cape Elizabeth, unkm.
- vii. ROBERT, b. 27 Dec. 1731; d. young.
- viii ROBERT, bp. 13 May 1733; d. young(?)
- ix HANNAH, bp. 22 Feb. 1735; d. young.
- x MARY, b. 1 May 1737; d. 3 April 1830; m. (1) Wm. Phillips, 25 Sept. 1770, New South Church, Boston, (2) Capt. James Perkins; no chn.

- xi ELIZABETH, bp. 21 Sept. 1740; d. 1796, Cape Elizabeth,  
unm. (int. 5 Jan. 1764 to Isaac Gamberte?).  
29 xii HANNAH, bp. 12 Dec. 1742.

Joseph and Hannah Calef were notable folk in the Boston of their day. Hannah's father, Captain Domenicus Jordan, had been killed by the Indians in 1703 and she with her mother, brothers and sisters had been carried captive to Canada. All save one, Mary Ann, were returned in safety. Mary Ann is heard of later as a "spinster-woman" of Three Rivers, Canada, when Joseph is acting as her attorney in the settlement of her grandfather's estate.

Joseph was present when his Grandfather Robert lay dying at Roxbury and makes his nuncupative will. The grandson, not then twenty-five, was chosen administrator by his aunts and uncles. This is but the first of many estates entrusted to him for settlement.

He owned a tannery and sold shoes and sheepskins to the army moving on Crown Point. This tannery, with others, was close by the spring that was one of the inducements to the settlement at Boston, and from this never-failing source Joseph supplied water for the casks of outgoing vessels. Over it the Boston Post Office now stands.

The Calef house, at the corner of Milk and Congress Streets, escaped the fire of 1760, though the tannery was burned. The house was built on the model of Governor Belcher's mansion. In it hung portraits by Copley, who had been, it is said, a clerk in the Office of the Market with one of the Calef boys. The only one of the portraits known to be in existence is that of the mistress of the house. This went to her daughter, Hannah, wife of Dr. Gottfried Smith, and to their daughter Hannah, Mrs. Charles Miller of Milton, Mass. Joseph's house is pictured in Snow's *History of Boston*. The State Bank now stands upon the site.

Early Joseph was busied in public affairs. He subscribed a pound in 1716 to the building of the New South Church and later twice that to the workhouse. He was fence viewer, clerk of the market, constable. His name is on petitions for town improvements. He was sent by



Governor Dummer with an important letter to Colonel Tyng at Dunstable after the tragic fight with the Indians at Pegwacket. With two others he arranged for the building of a fort at Falconnet Falls, Kennebec River. He subscribed to President Willard's "Whole Body of Divinity," one of the first folios printed in this country.

He dealt constantly in land, coming into many scattered acres through his Calef inheritances and Hannah's Jordan properties. There were tracts in Nottingham and Yarmouth and Falmouth, and round-about Boston. He was an original proprietor of New Boston, Maine. They sold Hannah's part in "Nonesuch Farm," Scarborough, that came from Robert Jordan, and bought land by Langmaid's Pond on Spurwinck Road at Cape Elizabeth. In 1774, two years after his wife's death, Joseph settled there.

The eldest child, Sarah, married Col. Jabez Matthews, a man of mark. He was sent as head of an embassy of four, through the wilderness to Quebec, to learn the temper of the people in relation to the Revolution. His account to the Provincial Congress was not favorable. In 1783 and 1784 he was Colonel of the Fourth Regiment Cumberland County, Maine.

Samuel and Elizabeth, the unmarried son and daughter, went to Cape Elizabeth with their father and lived there the rest of their lives.

Ebenezer Winter was a tanner and carried on his father's business in Boston. The records make him the typical bachelor brother and uncle, always settling family estates, laying up a comfortable fortune and leaving it to his kinsfolk.

No record has been found of the death of the second son named Robert, but since the many legal papers relating to the property of his Jordan grandparents, of his father Joseph, and of his brothers and sisters, never mention him, it seems unlikely that he lived to grow up.

Mary, the widow of Captain Perkins, lived in Ipswich to great age, dying in 1830. Of the dispute as to the authorship of "More Wonders of the Invisible World,"

she always said she knew from her father, that his grandfather, Robert the emigrant, was the author.

**10** EBENEZER (Joseph, Robert) of Boston and Ipswich, Mass., b. 25 Jan. 1697, Ipswich; d. 17 May 1776, Boston; m. 8 April 1722, Elizabeth Fitch, b. —; d. 22 July 1777; dau. of Jedediah and Abigail (Coffin) Fitch, Newbury, Mass.

Children, born at Nantucket:

- i SAMUEL, bp. 29 Sept. 1728.
- 30 ii MARY, b. 2 March 1729.
- 31 iii PETER, bp. 26 Sept. 1731.
- 32 iv ROBERT, bp. 26 Sept. 1731.
- 33 v EBENEZER, bp. 22 July 1739.
- 34 vi ELIZABETH, bp. 22 July 1739.
- 35 vii MARGARET, bp. 16 Aug. 1747.

Ebenezer Calef, Esq., settled in Nantucket, "a Housewright, Carpenter and land owner." For thirty years he served as Justice of the Peace, and performed sixty-three marriages in that Quaker community. At a town meeting in 1746 he was appointed one of a committee of three to see that a lighthouse was built at Brant's Point. This was the second lighthouse built in this country, Boston Light being the first.

In his will, dated 1776, he writes, "And now, whereas I have in my lifetime handed out or given to sundry of my children sundry Goods and Furniture, as may be seen in my little Book marked E.C.A. wherein is charged the sundry as above, now my mind and Will is that those children of mine that are short of the Rest agreeable to said account in the little Book, shall first be made equal to the Rest before division. . . ."

His widow, Elizabeth Fitch Calef, dying the next year, left her clock and silver tankard to her son Ebenezer; to her daughter Mary Hussey, her "silver spout cup," dividing all the rest into five equal parts for her five children.

Though marriages were performed in Nantucket by Justices of the Peace, baptisms waited till a minister came to the Quaker community or till children could be taken to the mainland. So that baptisms and births are often a year or more apart, as is noted in the entries for Ebenezer's children.

11 PETER (Joseph, Robert) of Charlestown, Mass., b. 27 Oct. 1699, Ipswich, Mass.; d. 11 Oct. 1735; m. 19 July 1723, Boston, Mass., by Rev. Simon Bradstreet, Sarah Foster, b. 16 Nov. 1701; d. before 11 Oct. 1735; dau. of Richard and Parnel (Winslow) Foster, Charlestown.

Children, born at Charlestown:

- 36 i JOSEPH, bp. 3 May 1724.
- ii SARAH, bp. 8 Jan. 1726; d. 1749, unm.
- iii MARY, b. 23 June 1728; d. before 1732.
- iv PETER, bp. 26 Oct. 1729; d. before 1749.
- 37 v MARY, bp. 23 April 1732.
- vi PARNEL, bp. 7 July 1733; d. young.
- 38 vii PARNEL, bp. 16 Feb. 1735.
- 39 STEPHEN, bp. 13 Feb. 1743 (probably son of Jonathan and Mary, who are not listed in this book, and first of the line spelling the name *Califf*).

Peter was another of the physicians in the family. Sarah died early, perhaps when her second child named Parnel was born. Peter died later in the year and a guardian was appointed for the children—Joseph, Sarah, Mary, Peter, Parnel—who had all been baptized in the First Congregational Church of Charlestown.

Besides real estate, the inventory taken in 1741 mentions a "Quarto Bible," thirty-two other books, medicines and instruments, one silver tankard, silver spoons, and at Nantucket "the sloop Desire with all her sails, rigging, etc. value 208 pounds." The daughter Sarah, who died in her early twenties, divided her estate between her two sisters, Mary and Parnel, and her "friend, Thomas Stone, jr., Mariner."

*Califf*. It has been taken for granted that all Calefs in the United States are descendants of Robert, but an unknown Stephen and Jonathan appear in the Charlestown records. No official record has been found giving Peter (11) a son Stephen, while a Jonathan of the same period and place, Charlestown, Mass., apparently had a son Stephen (39). This Stephen's descendants are hereafter listed, throughout this work, as *Califf*, the spelling he himself adopted.

(*To be continued*)

## CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS IN THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM.

(Concluded from Vol. LXXIV, page 196)

152. GEORGE F. WHITE, [?]-1858. Oil at 21 years, painted by unknown artist. Canvas, 23½ in. x 19 in. Head and shoulders, head slightly to right. Reddish-brown hair, curling on forehead, blue eyes, ruddy complexion. Turned-down collar, wide black bow tie, small gold anchor and chain worn as shirt pin. Black satin waistcoat, black coat with velvet collar. Dark background. M 1472.

*Gift of Family about 1903.*

George F. White, sea captain, was the son of Haffield (or Haffel) White and his wife, Rhoda (Fears) White. Haffield White was a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, who emigrated to America and settled at Salem, where he is recorded as master and part owner of the sloop *Alice* in 1793. He was lost overboard from the brig *Standard* near the North Carolina coast in 1825. George F. White, inheriting his father's love for the sea, sailed on several voyages when very young and in 1849 was commander of the Salem bark *Pilot*, owned by Benjamin West and others. During the remainder of his seafaring life he was in the employ of Boston and New York merchants and made for them many voyages to Zanzibar and other foreign ports. His wife, whom he married 1 December 1844 in Salem, was Mary E. Ballard, the daughter of James and Eliza Cotton (Archer) Ballard. Her family name was originally Bullock, but it was changed to Ballard by Act of the Legislature in 1830. Captain and Mrs. White made their home in South Salem, where he died in July 1858, survived by his wife, who died 28 April 1874. Their only son, George F. White, called George Merwanjee White, was a well-known artist, particularly interested in the preservation of Salem landmarks and buildings. He lived for some time abroad, but returned to Salem and died there in 1915.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 56969; *Salem Vit.*

*Rec.* (printed), I, 45, III, 163, 460, VI, 327, 328; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 4; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 7, 146; *Salem Evening News*, 23 March 1915; *Salem Directories*, 1846-1874; Putnam, III, 84; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 351; *Names Changed in Massachusetts*, 1780-1892, 60.]

153. HENRY TRASK WHITTREDGE, 1794-1830. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 30½ in. x 25 in. Seated figure, facing left, eyes front, curling brown hair, short side whiskers. White stock tied in bow knot, double-breasted coat with brass buttons, left arm rests on back of wooden chair, right hand concealed in coat. Seal, etc., as fob ornaments. Dark blue-gray background. M 438.

*Gift of William Crowninshield Waters, 1900.*

Henry Trask Whittredge, mariner and merchant, was born 29 December 1794, the son of Captain Thomas and Sarah Whittredge. He married in June 1816 Ruth Putnam Webb, baptized in August 1794, the daughter of Stephen Webb. On 7 September 1819 he joined Essex Lodge A. F. & A. M. in Salem, and in February 1823, he became a member of the East India Marine Society. He is recorded as master of the 173-ton Danvers built brig *Edward* in 1816, and as part owner and master of the brig *Henry* in 1823. He also engaged in mercantile business in Salem for a short period but died 1 September 1830, leaving his wife and two minor children. Mrs. Whittredge died in Salem about 24 August 1838.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 29760; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 404, 423, VI, 331; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 214, XVI (1879), 225; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 45, 83; *History E. I. M. S.*, 60; also references for Thomas Cook Whittredge.]

154. THOMAS COOK WHITEMORE, 1799-1854. Oval oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 30½ in. x 25 in. Head and shoulders, eyes front, light brown hair and blue eyes. Straight mouth and aquiline nose. Black coat and waistcoat, high white collar, white shirt and black stock. Dull brownish-gray background. M 4343.

*Gift of East India Marine Society, 1936.*



Thomas Cook Whittredge, shipmaster, was born in Salem 27 May 1799, the son of Captain Thomas and Sarah Whittredge. His father was a shipmaster and merchant who owned considerable real estate in Salem and Danvers. The son obtained his early education in the Salem public schools and was graduated from Harvard College in 1818. He married 7 May 1827 Susan Louisa, the daughter of John and Susan Mead. In 1824 he was sailing as master of the brig *Edward* to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Maranhham, with cargoes consigned to his father, who owned the vessel. He was admitted to Essex Lodge A. F. & A. M. in Salem 7 September 1824, and joined the Salem Marine Society in 1833. He gave up active life at sea before 1851 and died at Salem 26 January 1854. Mrs. Whittredge died 10 April 1859, aged fifty-five years. They lived on Federal Street and were the parents of eight children.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Dockets 2977, 29782; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 423, IV, 465; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 109, 156; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 254, XVI (1879), 225; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 147; *Salem Register*, 14 April 1859; *Salem Gazette*, 27 January 1854; *Salem Directory*, 1851; Osgood-Batchelder, 178, 180; Neal, *Neal Record*, 29; *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, V (1851), 156; *Sea Journals of Capt. Thomas C. Whittredge at Essex Institute.*]

155. ISRAEL PORTER WILLIAMS, 1804-1891. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 23¾ in. x 18½ in. Head and shoulders, brown eyes nearly front, reddish hair, short side whiskers. Dark blue coat with high rolling collar, white waistcoat, white shirt, black stock. Gray-blue background. M 4139. Neg. 4003.

*Gift of Heirs of Elizabeth Williams, 1935.*

Israel Porter Williams, mariner, the son of Captain Israel Williams and his wife, Elizabeth Lydia (Wait) Williams, was born at Salem 3 February 1804. He was a sailor as a young man, and his sea journal, kept in 1836-1837, records him as master of the ship *George Cabot*, sailing from Boston to Sumatra. After a few

voyages he left the sea and lived for a time in Salem. He seems to have been associated with Samuel G. Rea of Salem in 1828, as with him he was then granted a patent for the invention of a "pump box." In early middle life he was engaged as a wharfinger at Lombard's Wharf in East Boston, and in 1867 was appointed Station Master and Ticket Agent at Chelsea for the Eastern Railroad. He kept this position until 1880, when he retired, but continued to live in Chelsea, where he died, unmarried, at his home on Heard Street, 12 December 1891. He was a brother of Henry L. Williams, one-time Mayor of Salem.

[See *Suffolk Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 88893; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 432, VI, 139; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 139, XVIII, 58; *E. I. H. C.*, IV (1862), 76, 138; *Boston Transcript*, 15 December 1891; *Salem Register*, 16 December 1891; Perley, I, 280; Osgood-Batchelder, 60, 61; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 188; Sea Journal of Capt. I. P. Williams at Essex Institute.]

156. FRANCIS AUGUSTUS WINN, 1812-1837. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 25 in. x 21 in. Head and shoulders of young man, three-quarters to right, eyes front. Light brown hair parted in center, short side whiskers. High white collar, large black stock, shirt pin, low-cut dark waistcoat, dark blue coat. Dark red curtain and columns show in background. M 361.

*Gift of Family, 1903.*

Francis Augustus Winn was born in Salem 17 November 1812, the son of Joseph R. and Hannah (Dove) Winn. He married about 30 May 1835 Mehitable A. Hill, born 1 February 1812, the daughter of Richard and Lydia (Andrews) Hill. He appears in an 1830 crew list of the famous ship *George*, and probably made voyages in other vessels for a few years. He died 5 August 1837, and Mrs. Winn 30 October 1880.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 433, II, 437, III, 499, IV, 482, VI, 340; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XV, 82; *Salem Gazette*, 2 November 1880; Salem Directories, 1837, 1851; Putnam, II, 24.]

## ADDENDA.

157. NEHEMIAH W. BUTMAN, 1794-1826. Oval miniature by E. Toci. Dimensions,  $1\frac{1}{3}$  in. x  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. Head and shoulders, head turned slightly to right, eyes front, dark hair brushed over forehead, short side whiskers, pale complexion. Stock tied in bow knot, frilled shirt, figured white waistcoat, dark blue coat with brass buttons. Medium gray background. M 3700. Neg. 3682.

*Purchase, 1931.*

Nehemiah W. Butman, mariner, was born about 1794, but it has proved impossible to determine the exact date of his birth or the names of his parents. In 1817 he was first officer of the brig *Alice* of Beverly, bound for the West Indies. In the following year he made two more voyages to the West Indies as first officer of the brig *George Washington*, and in December 1818 appeared in the crew list of the brig *Brittania* of Salem, bound for the Pacific, as second officer. In June 1819 Mr. Butman was listed as first officer of the schooner *Barstow* to the West Indies, but he next made three voyages to the East, in 1820, as first officer of the brig *Jane*, and in 1821 and 1823 as first officer of the ship *Two Brothers*. On 3 March 1823 he married in Salem Mary N. Morong. In 1824 he sailed to Gibraltar as first officer of the ship *Restitution*, and in September 1825 as second mate of the schooner *Ceres*, George Gale master, for South America and India. Returning to Salem, he again sailed in the same vessel on 13 February 1826 for Brazil and India. This was his last voyage, for the *Ceres* was never heard from. Lost with Mr. Butman were George Gale, master, and five seamen, nearly all of Salem. The *Ceres* was a Hingham-built schooner, owned by Franklin H. Story and William Fettyplace. Mrs. Butman married 11 August 1834 David Lewis of Woburn. She was Mr. Lewis' second wife, and by him had two children, Mary Elizabeth Lewis, born in 1836 and Edward Augustus Lewis, born in 1838, both at Woburn.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), III, 174, V, 130; *Woburn Vit. Rec.* (printed), *Book of marriages and of*

*births*, 113, 151; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, Book A, 184; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 30; Crew Lists of the *Alice*, *George Washington*, *Brittania*, *Barstow*, *Two Brothers*, *Restitution* and *Ceres* in Salem Customs Records at Essex Institute.]

158. GEORGE ARNOLD COLE, 1809-1879. Miniature by unknown artist. Dimensions, 3 in. x 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Half-length seated figure of young man, facing right. Brown hair, blue eyes, reddish sideburns. Black coat, low-cut white waistcoat, white shirt and high black stock. M 4593.

*Bequest of Miss Delia D. Cole, 1938.*

For the biography of Captain Cole, who was previously represented in the collection by another miniature (no. 32) and by an oil portrait (no. 33), see *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIII (1937), 274-275.

159. JAMES DEVEREUX, 1806-1831. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 21 in. x 17 in. Head and shoulders of young man, facing left. Curling red hair, ruddy complexion, eyes front. Deep maroon coat, white high-cut waistcoat, pleated shirt with cameo pin or stud in bosom, white stock. M 4562.

*Gift of William Crowninshield Waters, 1937.*

James Devereux was baptised at Salem in January 1806. He was the son of Captain James Devereux, a native of Ireland, who was master of the ship *Franklin*, the first American vessel to visit Japan, and Sally Crowninshield, his wife. No record of the younger Devereux's early career at sea has been found, but an item in the *Essex Register* of Thursday, 17 November 1831, states: "A letter received in this town from St. Helena (by arrival at New Bedford) says—The brig *Osprey* is in port to sail this evening, 21st September, for Salem. James Devereux, supercargo, died at Zanzibar 20th June. Three of her crew, viz. P. Benson, C. Moses and J. Larabee, died at Mocha in November last."

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 247, V, 207; *Essex Register*, 17 November 1831; Information at Peabody Museum.]

160. CHARLES WARD FARRINGTON, 1810-1869. Oval miniature by unknown artist. Dimensions,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. x 2 in. Head and shoulders three-quarters to right, eyes front, fair hair parted on right side and brushed across head. High collar, black stock, gold anchor shirt-pin, low-cut buff waistcoat, dark gray coat with black velvet collar. Medium gray background. M 3133. Neg. 2246.

*Deposited by Salem Marine Society.*

Charles Ward Farrington, shipmaster, was born 8 April 1810 in Salem, the son of William Farrington, a native of Lynn, and his wife Mary (Ward) Farrington. He married 3 June 1841 Mary Jane Jelly, born 18 October 1818, the daughter of William Jelly and his first wife, Hannah (McDonald) Jelly. On 24 February 1843 Captain Farrington became a member of the Salem Marine Society and served as its clerk in 1868. He commanded the brig *Theodore* in 1837, making a voyage which included Batavia and the west coast of Sumatra, to Singapore with a cargo of pepper. This vessel was later lost in the China Sea. In 1841 the ship *Lausanne* was under his command to Valparaiso, and in 1848 he sailed for Theodore Shillaber of Honolulu as master of the Hawaiian bark *Don Quixote* of Bordeaux. In 1849 he took the bark *Undine* from San Francisco to the Columbia River and five years afterwards he commanded the ship *Louisa* to Melbourne. On 11 August 1869 Captain Farrington died at his residence on Essex Street, Salem, survived by his wife who died 22 September 1887.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 290, 472, II, 349; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 256, XV, 178; *E. I. H. C.*, V, (1863), 212; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 133, 149; *Salem Register*, 8 September 1853; Information at Peabody Museum.]

161. BENJAMIN AUGUSTUS FOLLANSBEE, 1816-1872. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 30 in. x  $25\frac{1}{2}$  in. Half length seated figure of young man. Full face, curling brown hair, smooth shaven cheeks, short beard under chin. Black coat, low-cut black



waistcoat, pleated shirt, white standing collar, black stock. M 4608.

*Gift of Mrs. Clayton Welch, 1938.*

Benjamin Augustus Follansbee, shipmaster, was born at Pittston, Maine, 25 December 1816. He was the son of Deacon Benjamin Follansbee, Jr., and his wife Elizabeth (Kinney) Follansbee, who was the daughter of Thomas Story and Hannah (White) Kinney. Captain Follansbee married 24 July 1843 at Amesbury, Massachusetts, Aphia A. R. Tyler, and lived at Amesbury, although for many years he commanded vessels sailing from the port of New York. In the early 1850's he appears to have been master of the clipper bark *Greenfield*, and from 1857 to 1860 he commanded the clipper ship *Skylark*. In 1863-1864 he was master of the ship *Uncowah* of New York, which made voyages to China, and from 1868 onwards of the ship *Lorenzo* of New York. Captain Follansbee was lost at sea in the winter of 1872, while in command of the *Lorenzo*.

[See *Pittston Vit. Rec.* (printed), 57, 327; *Amesbury Vit. Rec.* (printed), 350; Howe and Matthews, *American Clipper Ships*, II, 581; Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea*, 312, 484, 492, 498, 503, 511; Information at Peabody Museum.]

162. HOUQUA, 1769-1843. Water-color by a Chinese artist, probably from an album. Dimensions, 9 in. x 8¼ in. Half-length seated figure of an elderly man. Finely modelled head, completely bald, full face, eyes front, short gray moustache and goatee. Deep blue robe, with richly embroidered panels. Long string of beads around neck. Right arm rests on table. Hands concealed by sleeves of robe. M 4597. Neg. 5309.

*Purchase, 1938.*

Houqua, born in 1769, was for many years the chief of the Hong merchants at Canton. In 1809 he was described by Captain Thomas W. Ward thus: "Houqua is at the head of the Hong—is very rich, sends good cargoes and just in all his dealings, in short is a man of honour and veracity—has more business than any other man in

the Hong and secures 12 or 14 American ships this year." Houqua's great wealth and integrity, coupled with his unusual generosity, made him almost a legendary figure, and his name appears constantly in the papers and journals of American shipmasters and merchants engaged in the China trade during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. He was particularly friendly to American merchants. After the East India Company left Canton, Houqua withdrew from general business with the foreign community and confined himself exclusively to trade with Russell and Company. In 1834 his wealth was estimated at \$26,000,000, which was probably the largest mercantile fortune in the world at that time. Houqua died in 1843.

[See *E. I. H. C.*, LXXIII (1937), 307; Dulles, *The Old China Trade*, 128-130; Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 369-74; Hunter, *The Fan Kwae at Canton*, 34-50; Orange, *The Chater Collection*, 233.]

163. NATHANIEL KENNARD, JR. Oil by unknown artist. Canvas, 21½ in. x 17 in. Half-length portrait of young man. Florid complexion, clear blue eyes, gingery hair. Wears dark blue coat, broad white waistcoat, fancy stock. Dull greenish background. M 4561.

*Purchase, 1937.*

Nathaniel Kennard, Jr., shipmaster of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was the son of Nathaniel Kennard, Revolutionary soldier, and his wife, Margaret (Peverly) Kennard. The family lived for a time in Eliot, Maine, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His wife was one Ruth Walker. Nathaniel Kennard, Jr., first appears in the Portsmouth Customs records as master of the sloop *Fame* in 1794, sailing to the West Indies. He continued aboard various vessels engaged in trade with the West Indies and South America until 1808, when he became first mate of the Revenue cutter *New Hampshire*, assigned to the Portsmouth district. In 1812 he became commander of the vessel, quitting it in 1815 to become Inspector of Customs in the Portsmouth Custom House. He became a member of the Portsmouth Marine Society

in 1808. Captain Kennard died in the West Indies before 1834, but his widow lived on School Street, Portsmouth as late as 1839.

[See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, LXXXI (1927), 261; *Old Eliot Monthly Magazine*, I (1897), 107, 109; Portsmouth Directories, 1834-1839; Stackpole, *History of Kittery*, 565-568; Brewster, *Rambles About Portsmouth*, 2nd series, 286; Information at Peabody Museum.]

164. MICAJAH LUNT, 1832-1865. Oval oil portrait on paper (over a photographic enlargement) by unknown artist. Dimensions, 25 in. x 15 in. Head and shoulders of middle-aged man. Full face, black hair, moustache and close-cropped beard. Black coat, white shirt, turned-down collar, black bow tie. M 4544.

*Purchase, 1937.*

Micajah Lunt, sometimes called 3rd or Junior, was born at Newburyport, 21 November 1832, the son of Captain Micajah and his second wife, Mary Johnson (Coffin) Lunt, who was the daughter of Edmund Coffin and his first wife, Mary (Moody) Coffin. Captain Lunt married 4 March 1857 Clarina Emily Wood, born 4 December 1832, the daughter of Hiram and Prudence (Evans) Wood. When but twenty-two years old Captain Lunt sailed on a foreign voyage as master of the ship *Gleaner*, and it was on this vessel in 1857 that Mrs. Lunt accompanied him to spend their honeymoon on a trip which took them nearly around the world. In 1862 he commanded the 1162-ton ship *Winona* of Newburyport. He died 18 June 1865 at Newburyport. On 22 July 1869 Mrs. Lunt married Francis Joel Thayer, a Boston merchant, the son of Joel Thayer and his first wife, Abby (Barstow) Thayer.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 45870; *Newbury Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 299; *Newburyport Ship Reg.*, 86, 242, 243; Appleton, *Coffin Gatherings*, 33; Currier, *History of Newburyport*, I, 463, II, 509; Thayer, *Thayer Genealogy*, 384-386; Lunt, *The Lunt Family*, 130, 203; Information from Mrs. Albert G. Potter, Swampscott, Mass.]

165. SAMUEL REA, 1782-1842. Oil by James Frothingham. Panel, 26 in. x 21 in. Head and shoulders, head three-quarters to left, eyes front, gray hair and side whiskers. White stock, high-cut waistcoat, dark blue double-breasted coat. Brown background. M 4609.

*Bequest of Charles Samuel Rea, 1938.*

Samuel Rea, shipmaster and merchant, was born at Salem 3 February 1782, the son of Archelaus and Mary (Cook) Rea. In 1805 he was master of the brigantine *Two Brothers* and in 1807 of the schooner *Venus*. Apparently early in his career he also commanded the brigantine *Hopewell*. On 30 August 1807 he married at Salem Sarah Barr, daughter of Captain James and Eunice (Carlton) Barr. In November of the same year he became a member of the East India Marine Society. From 1810 to 1822 Captain Rea was in the employ of Joseph Peabody as master of several vessels in the foreign trade. Between 1810 and 1812 he made two voyages to Smyrna in command of the brig *Resolution*, and in 1812-13 a voyage to Pernambuco in the brig *Levant*. As master of the ship *Augustus* he went to Sumatra in 1815-16, to Malta and Smyrna in 1816 and to Havana and Smyrna in 1817. His next command was the ship *Catherine*, in which he made a voyage to India in 1818 and to Hamburg and Gottenburg in 1819. Captain Rea's last voyage as master of a Peabody vessel was in the brig *Leander* to Leghorn, Malta and Smyrna during 1821-22. Upon retiring from the sea he engaged in business as a merchant, and was part owner of the ship *Minerva* in 1825 and the brig *Jones* in 1827. In the years 1824-25 he served on the Committee of Observation of the East India Marine Society. He died at Salem 1 October 1842.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 69, II, 226, III, 82, VI, 177; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 14, 15, 28, 90, 100, 105, 124, 156, 188, 193; *History E. I. M. S.*, 58, 69; Salem Directories, 1837-1842; *Peabody Crew Lists* at Peabody Museum; Information at Peabody Museum.]

## MARBLE BUSTS

## 166. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, 1826-1900.

White marble bust by John Wilson, 1932. Extreme height, 21 in. Extreme width, 14½ in. Extreme depth, 9 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man, with full moustache and small chin whisker, wearing frock coat buttoned, wing collar and ascot tie with scarf-pin. M 3786.

*Gift of William Crowninshield Endicott and  
Mrs. William Hartley Carnegie, 1930.*

William Crowninshield Endicott was born at Salem 19 November 1826. He was the son of William Putnam Endicott, a direct descendant of Governor John Endecott, and of his wife, Mary Crowninshield, daughter of the Honorable Jacob and Sarah (Gardner) Crowninshield. On 1 July 1827 he was baptized William Gardner Endicott, but after the death at sea of his uncle, William Crowninshield, his name was changed on 19 April 1837 by Act of the Legislature to William Crowninshield Endicott. He was educated in public and private schools at Salem, was graduated from Harvard College in 1847, and in 1850 was admitted to the Essex County Bar. In 1853 he established the law firm of Perry and Endicott in Salem, and practiced until 1873, when he was appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. He remained on the bench for nine years, resigning because of poor health in 1882. A life-long Democrat, he was several times an unsuccessful candidate for elective public office, but when Grover Cleveland became President in 1885 he appointed Judge Endicott to be Secretary of War, a post which he held throughout the first Cleveland administration. Upon returning to Massachusetts in 1889 he resumed the practice of law. William Crowninshield Endicott married 13 December 1859 at Salem Ellen Peabody, daughter of George and Clarissa (Endicott) Peabody. He was one of the original trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science, was its Vice-President in 1867-1868, and served as President from 1868 until his resignation in 1897. He died at 163 Marlborough Street, Boston, 6 May 1900.



[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 281; Endicott, *Memoir of Samuel Endicott*; Adams, *Memoir of William C. Endicott, LL.D.*; Information at Peabody Museum.]

167. WILLIAM GRAY, 1750-1825. White marble bust, signed "Dexter." Extreme height, 28 in. Extreme width, 19 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man, long hair, smooth-shaven face, classical drapery. M 1500.

*Gift of John Chipman Gray, 1910.*

For a biographical account of William Gray, see *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIII (1937), 368-370.

168. AUGUSTINE HEARD, 1785-1868. White marble bust by unknown sculptor. Extreme height, 28 in. Extreme width, 20 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man with full curling beard and moustache, classical drapery. M 3787.

*Purchase, 1931.*

For a biographical account of Augustine Heard, see *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIII (1937), 373-374.

169. GEORGE AUGUSTUS PEABODY, 1831-1929. White marble bust by John Wilson, 1930, after a bust modeled from life in 1909 at Roque Island, Maine, by George Howard Monks, M.D. Extreme height, 21 in. Extreme width, 14½ in. Extreme depth, 9 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man with drooping moustache, wearing an open coat, single-breasted waistcoat, standing collar. M 3785.

*Gift of George Peabody Gardner and William Crowninshield Endicott, Executors of George Augustus Peabody, 1930.*

George Augustus Peabody was born in Salem 23 August 1831. He was the son of George and Clarissa (Endicott) Peabody, and was christened Joseph Augustus, but in 1845, by Act of the Legislature, his name was changed to George Augustus Peabody. He was graduated

from Harvard College in 1852 and received the degree of LL.B from the Harvard Law School in 1855. Although admitted to the bar, he never practiced law. He was a keen sportsman and a type of country gentleman now extinct. In the winter of 1858-1859 he went to South America with Captain Robert Bennet Forbes, Dr. Jeffries Wyman and William Gurdon Saltonstall. His account of that expedition was published in 1937 by the Peabody Museum of Salem. In 1881 Mr. Peabody married at Holderness, New Hampshire, Augusta Jay Balch Neilson, daughter of the Rev. Lewis Penn Witherspoon Balch and Anna Jay, his wife. Mrs. Peabody died in 1888, and there were no children. For the last thirty-seven years of his life Mr. Peabody lived very quietly on his estate of Burley Farm, outside of Danvers. He was a trustee of the Peabody Academy of Science (later the Peabody Museum of Salem) from 1896 to 1929. In 1898 he succeeded his brother-in-law, William Crowninshield Endicott, as President of the Museum, and served until his resignation in 1924. He died at Danvers, Massachusetts, 3 May 1929.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), II, 145; Endicott, *Memoir of Samuel Endicott*, 55, 100, 108; Peabody, *South American Journals*; Information at Peabody Museum.]

# CRAYON PORTRAITS

170. WILLIAM BARNES BATES, 1809-1894. Crayon portrait, 20 in. x 16 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man, with white hair and sideburns, front face. Black coat buttoned, white shirt, turned-down collar, black bow tie. M 4372.

*Deposited by Salem Marine Society.*

William Barnes Bates, shipmaster, was born in Salem 16 September 1809, the son of William Bates, a native of England, and his wife Sarah (Forbes) Bates. He married in Salem 26 April 1839, Harriet Lang Brown, born 27 March 1815, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Howard) Brown. In 1826 he shipped in the *Perseverance*, commanded by his father, on a voyage to Madagascar. The latter died in 1834 at Mahunga and the son, then a master mariner, brought his body home for burial. Captain Bates was continually on the sea until 1850, when he retired. He was master of the ships *Potomac* and *Messenger*, and the brigs *Richmond* and *Cherokee*. His last voyage was in the bark *Tom Corwin* to Zanzibar. He had made previously many voyages to the latter port, as well as to Siam, St. Helena and elsewhere. After his retirement he took charge of the vessels owned by Edward D. Kimball and was also connected with the Seccomb Oil Company of Salem. He joined the Salem Marine Society 26 February 1846 and was deeply interested in its welfare, assisting Charles W. Palfray in preparing the Centennial History of the Society. The collection of photographs of the members of the Salem Marine Society was largely due to his efforts. He was clerk of the Society from 1869 until his death 23 January 1894. Mrs. Bates died 14 January 1894, but nine days before her husband. The births of their six children are recorded in Salem.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 75368; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 77, 123, III, 90, 152; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XVIII, 92; *Salem Ship Reg.*, 150; *Laws S. M. S.* (1914), 149; *Salem Register*, 29 April 1889; Putnam II, 63, 122, III, 111; Howard, *Abraham Howard of Marblehead and His Descendants*, 48.]

171. ARTHUR HAMILTON CLARK, 1841-1922. Crayon portrait, 25½ in. x 19 in., signed C. C. Munzig. Head and shoulders of young man, front face, eyes right. Wavy hair, close-cropped moustache. Double-breasted coat, ascot tie. M 3455.

*Gift of Robert J. Clark, 1929.*

Arthur Hamilton Clark, shipmaster, was born at Boston 27 December 1841, the son of Benjamin Cutler and Mary (Preston) Clark. His father was the founder of a firm that from 1830 to 1850 engaged in the West India coffee trade and the Mediterranean fruit and wine trade, and owned one of the first decked private yachts around Boston. Arthur Clark attended the Boston Latin School, and was destined for the shipbuilding business under Donald McKay, but he was determined to go to sea, and in January 1858, having won his father's permission, sailed from Boston as an apprentice in the *Black Prince* on a voyage which lasted for two years and went around the world. At nineteen he became second officer in the *North-ern Light*, during a voyage to California, during which the Civil War broke out. Having failed to secure a commission in the Federal Navy he returned to his old ship, the *Black Prince*, as first officer. By 1863 he had his master's certificate, and for ten years commanded vessels in the China Seas. In 1869 he safely brought the sinking steamship *Suwonada* into Hongkong, and for this exploit was given a valuable piece of plate by the underwriters. Grateful Chinese passengers presented him with an embroidered silk testimonial certificate, which is now in the Peabody Museum. In 1873 Captain Clark returned to New York, and for three years thereafter commanded the *Indiana* of the American Line. In 1876 he left the sea and became London representative of various American marine underwriters, and in 1895 he was appointed Lloyd's agent for the port and district of New York. This position he held for twenty-five years. On retiring in 1920 he moved to Newburyport, where he died 5 July 1922. During his residence in London Captain Clark married Anna, daughter of Jean and Maria Eichenberger. Captain Clark was a daring and experi-

enced yachtsman, as well as a professional shipmaster. In 1867 he sailed the 27-ton yacht *Alice* of the New York Yacht Club across the Atlantic in nineteen days, and in 1894 he brought the 130-foot steam yacht *Sylvia* across in midwinter in twenty-five days by way of Madeira and Bermuda. In 1904 he published *The History of Yachting: 1600-1815*, and in 1910 *The Clipper Ship Era: 1843-1869*, which was the first important contribution to the maritime history of New England.

[See Clark, *History of Yachting; Clipper Ship Era; The Clark Collection of Marine Prints*; Information at Peabody Museum.]

172. AUGUSTUS E. B. GOVEA, 1826-1890. Crayon drawing, 18 in. x 14 in. Head and shoulders of elderly man, front face. Gray hair and beard, very bushy moustache. Black coat buttoned high, standing collar, black and white necktie. M 3554.

Augustus E. B. Govea was born in Lisbon, Portugal, in April 1826, the son of Firmes and Maria Govea, both natives of Portugal. He married 16 March 1858 Sarah F. Willey, born in Salem in 1836, the daughter of William A. and Mary Ann (Nichols) Willey. When he was sixteen years old he left his native place and sailed for the coast of Africa, where he was employed for some time as a clerk in the mercantile house of Hunt and Brookhouse of Salem, and it was from there that he emigrated to America. He had, however, previously been agent abroad for several influential firms, among them the house of George Ropes of Boston. He was also United States Vice Consul at Mozambique and subsequently at Zanzibar. He had made a number of voyages in several noted vessels before taking up his residence in America. Soon after he came to Salem he became a member of Essex Lodge of Masons and also of other Masonic bodies. He was a member of the Salem Light Infantry and joined the East India Marine Society in 1883. Mrs. Govea was for several years soloist at the Tabernacle Church in Salem and one of the earliest members of the Salem Oratorio Society. Captain and Mrs. Govea lived on Bridge Street in Salem,



where he died 16 December 1890 of African fever contracted while abroad. His wife continued to live in Salem until 1914, when she removed to Danvers, where she died 14 April 1920.

[See *Essex Co. Prob. Rec.*, Docket 136085; *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), IV, 473; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, IX, 173, XVIII, 45; *Danvers Town Hall Rec.*, XXI, 225; *E. I. H. C.*, III (1861), 270; *History E. I. M. S.*, 66; *Salem Evening News*, 17 December 1890, 15 April 1920; *Salem Register*, 18 December 1890.]

173. THOMAS FRANKLIN HUNT, 1841-1898. Crayon portrait, enlarged from a photograph, 30 in. x 25 in. Head and shoulders of middle-aged man. Front face, wears gray soft felt hat, black coat and waistcoat, white bosom shirt with stud, turned-down collar, black bow tie. M 4048.

*Gift of Colonial Club, 1934.*

Thomas Franklin Hunt was born at Salem 15 July 1841, the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Cook) Hunt. His father was early in China and was engaged in furnishing American vessels at Whampoa with supplies and lighterage to Canton. Despite dangers from river pirates Mrs. Hunt and their seven-year-old son, Thomas Franklin, followed Captain Hunt to China and with him made their home in a hulk moored in the Pearl River, where also were Captain Hunt's bank and counting-house. Here he lived until 1853 when, after a short visit to America, he returned to China, establishing himself at Hong Kong. About 1864 he again sailed for America, where he finally decided to remain. He began the study of law in Salem under Stephen C. Phillips, being admitted to the bar in 1867. Through Mr. Hunt's generosity the Essex Institute received some six hundred books upon China, and the Peabody Museum many articles relating to China and its customs. Mr. Hunt served as trustee of various Salem institutions, notably the Plummer Farm School, the Salem Athenaeum and the Salem Public Library, and in 1897 of the Peabody Museum. In 1882 he joined the East

India Marine Society and in 1889 was elected to the board of management of the Salem Home for Aged and Destitute Women. He died unmarried, 21 January 1898, at his home on Bridge Street, survived by his aged mother, with whom he lived, and who died the next year.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), I, 458; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, XXI, 16, 32; *E. I. H. C.*, XXXIV (1898), 1; *History E. I. M. S.*, 66; Salem Directories, 1897-98.]

174. SAMUEL KENNEDY, 1819-1868. Crayon portrait, 24 in. x 16 in. Half-length figure of middle-aged man. Black hair, no moustache, close-cropped beard under chin. Black coat, white bosom shirt, turned-down collar, black bow tie. M 3856.

*Gift of Miss Mindora Kennedy, 1932.*

Samuel Kennedy, shipmaster, was born 15 September 1819, the son of Samuel Kennedy, master mariner, and his wife, Mary (Felt) Kennedy. He married in Boston 5 October 1850, Kate G. Pratt, born at Chelsea 19 January 1819, the daughter of Joseph and Katharine (Seaver) Pratt of Boston. Captain Kennedy sailed from Boston, New York and Philadelphia on several voyages, being in command of the extreme clipper ships *White Squall* and *Messenger* from 1849 to 1854, sailing from Philadelphia to San Francisco and foreign ports while engaged in the East India and China trades. He commanded the *Samuel Appleton* and several other vessels out of Boston. During the whole of the Civil War he was master of the United States transport *Mississippi*. He died suddenly at Sturdivant House, East Boston 20 December 1868.

[See *Salem Vit. Rec.* (printed), III, 562; *Salem City Hall Rec.*, VI, 248; *Salem Register*, 24 December 1868; Howe-Matthews, *American Clipper Ships*, II, 389, 694; Morris, *Felt Genealogy*, 288; Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea*, 256, 402, 483, 490, 494.]

175. TARIA TOPAN, 1822-[?]. Crayon portrait, 24 in. x 19½ in., signed "C. P. B. 1881." Head and shoulders of middle-aged man, face front, eyes left, thin black beard and moustache, untrimmed.

Wears turban, white shirt and loose coat. M  
4466.

*Gift of Walter H. Trumbull, 1932.*

Taria Topan, called by the traders at Zanzibar a "high minded Hindoo merchant," was born 30 September 1822 and was active in Eastern commerce for many years. A traveller in Zanzibar, in an article written for *Harper's Monthly* in 1869, says that he was very friendly with American visitors and "retained few of the prejudices of his people." He entertained foreigners with lavish hospitality, on one occasion sending his little daughter with her nurse to welcome the wife of an American visitor. He did not, however, eat with them, being forbidden by his religious beliefs. So well liked and respected was he that Captain John Bertram of Salem named a new bark launched from Miller's yard in 1870 the *Taria Topan*. Among this vessel's commanders were Nathan A. Batchelder, William Beadle and Edward B. Trumbull, and William H. Hathorne. Captain Trumbull, in an address before the Laymen's League in Salem, in 1934, told of his cargoes of cotton goods and kerosene which were sold in Zanzibar to Taria Topan, "who was a friend of our house."

[See *Salem Ship Reg.*, 182; *Salem Gazette*, 22 June 1896; *Salem Evening News*, 20 April 1934; Putnam, II, 60, 67, 91, 106, III, 91; *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, February, 1869, 307-318; Information at Peabody Museum.]

## BOOK REVIEWS

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THE MEMOIRS OF JULIAN HAWTHORNE. Edited by his wife, Edith Garrigues Hawthorne. 1938. 299 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.50.

These are the delightful reminiscences of a man who was born into the charmed circle of New England literary people of the nineteenth century, and who was observant enough to note their characteristics. Mr. Hawthorne, the son of the famous romancer, died recently at the age of more than four-score years, just before he had completed these memoirs. He writes that if he had been asked under what conditions he should have preferred to have come into the world he would have replied without hesitation, "Let me be the only son of Nathaniel Hawthorne and his wife Sophia, born in Boston, Massachusetts, at 1 o'clock in the morning of June 22nd, in the year 1846." In one of the early chapters of this book he writes further: "There is much curiosity as to how seventy or eighty years ago people in this country lived; how they looked and dressed, ate, drank, kept house and loved. I can report only on hearsay as to other places, but of New England, Boston, Salem and Concord I can testify with authority." The book reveals intimate pictures of this life that one can find nowhere else, especially in connection with his own family and the literary lights of Concord and Boston. His references to the life of his family in Salem when they lived on Mall Street must be read to be appreciated, and the small details of the habits and sometimes eccentricities of the great in the world of letters often provokes a smile. A chapter on Concord days and Harvard contains the pathetic account of the death of his father. The famous people with whom he was acquainted, both in youth and in adult life, were legion, both in this country and Europe. The tone of the book is pleasant, often amusing, and the story fascinating; there are no false notes of criticism. Looking back over the years, he could well write: "No other person still alive shared my good fortune or could duplicate my story. My father was one of the elect, and caused me to be a sort of household intimate of those friends of his. They were my daily companions, whom I remember all the better perhaps because I didn't know they were particularly worth remembering. Of a thousand episodes, I set down not what was intrinsically important, but what I happened personally to recall." A book not to be missed by all lovers of Hawthorne. It should be in every library.

THE MIDDLESEX CANAL, 1793-1860. By Christopher Roberts. 1938. 252 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Price, \$3.00.

From a mass of hitherto unused manuscripts, principally the Lawrence Baldwin papers at the Harvard School of Business Administration, Mr. Roberts has evolved a most interesting and enlightening story of this early canal system in New England. We of the twentieth century are amazed as much at the primitive methods used at that time as at the tremendous spirit of enterprise that urged a few courageous souls to attempt a trial of this new means of transportation. The Middlesex Canal was begun in 1793 and ten years elapsed before the route was opened from Chelmsford to Boston. There were no engineers in this country who actually understood the principle of locks and canals, but Baldwin, with the aid of the English, finally accomplished this notable piece of work. Thus did Massachusetts establish the first internal waterway in the country, ante-dating the Erie Canal by twenty-five years. When this canal was advocated by Boston business men, there were no incorporated manufacturing companies in America, and there were but three chartered banks. There were only four millions of population and the only large towns in Massachusetts were Boston with 18,000, and Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester with more than 5,000 each. The purpose of the canal was to bring from the inland towns produce for the Boston market. Mr. Roberts' fascinating story of the struggles of the proprietors, of the vast amount of money that was constantly being required in assessments, and of the wages and labor of the workmen through the first years, shows the determination of business men of the early nineteenth century to see a thing through. But the canal was not a paying proposition. The service was slow, the canal was frozen during the winter months, and teamsters, once the canal proprietors had made roads through the wilderness, were able to compete successfully. The principal advantage from the whole enterprise was the building of the locks and canals on the Merrimac River, still in operation today, and which no doubt was the principal reason for the selection of Lowell, then a part of Chelmsford, for the great mills which were to become such an important factor in the industrial life of Massachusetts. Finally the building of the Boston and Lawrence Railroad was the last blow to the Middlesex Canal, and the corporation passed out of existence in 1860. This



book is a most thorough treatise, both from a technical and historical angle, and is strongly recommended to all libraries in the country.

**ADVENTURE ON RED RIVER.** Report on the Exploration of the Red River by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and Captain G. B. McClellan. Edited by Grant Forman. 1937. 200 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Price, \$2.50.

This report, which was first published in 1853 as an U. S. Senate Executive Document, deserved a wider distribution, and with this in mind Mr. Forman has brought out in a new volume that part called Captain Marcy's Journal, which describes his experiences on the western frontier in 1852. This country, which is now included in Oklahoma and Texas, was comparatively unknown in those days. Marcy graduated from West Point, served in the Mexican War and was in command of forces in conflict with the Indians for thirty years. His discoveries in the field of science brought him much distinction, and in company with Capt. George B. McClellan, who made astronomical calculations, his collections found their way to the Smithsonian Institution. Many scientists of note testified to the pioneer work accomplished by Captain Marcy. Mr. Forman has rendered a great service by giving us the early history of this part of the country. Recommended to all libraries.

**AMERICAN NAVAL SONGS AND BALLADS.** Edited by Robert W. Neeser. 1938. 372 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, \$2.50.

This is a collection of the best of the songs and ballads of the American Navy from the time of the Revolution to 1882. It is practically limited to the sail period of American vessels. Many of these old-time songs were printed in broadside form and met with a ready sale, especially those relating to war-time episodes. The book is divided into these periods: The Revolution; Wars with France and the Barbary Powers; War of 1812; and the period from 1815 to the Civil War and later. These songs are valuable not at all for the poetry, mostly doggerel, but because they show very vividly the state of public opinion in the periods in which they were written. The author gives credit to the Essex Institute, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston and New York Public Libraries for their large and valuable collections of broadsides. Twenty of the old broadsides are re-

produced. Mr. Neeser has made a notable contribution to marine history. Recommended to all libraries.

**GENEALOGY OF SOME OF THE VAIL FAMILY**, Descended from Thomas Vail at Salem, Massachusetts, 1640, Together with Collateral Lines. 592 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Blairstown, N. J.: privately printed by William Penn Vail, M.D. Price, \$5.00.

In this volume has been collected all known material relating to various branches of the Vail family. The Thomas line went from Salem to Southampton, L. I., where he was mentioned as an inhabitant as early as 1647, but he subsequently removed to Westchester County, N. Y. Jeremiah Vail was another resident of Salem in 1640, and there is a possibility that he was brother of Thomas. He settled in Southold, L. I. From these have descended many persons of distinction in this country. There is considerable space given to Alfred Vail and the telegraph, and Theodore N. Vail and the telephone, and there are innumerable collateral lines with much valuable information. There is a full index and many illustrations. Recommended to all genealogical libraries.

**UNCLE SAM WARD AND HIS CIRCLE**. By Maud Howe Elliott. 1938. 699 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$5.00.

We are greatly indebted to the Ward and Howe families for fascinating stories of life in the nineteenth century. This latest book of Mrs. Elliott is no exception, for it seems as if Sam Ward must have known everybody worth knowing, both in this country and in Europe, and through his many letters, collected by Mrs. Elliott, we are made acquainted with the high lights of his long life. His two ambitions were to be famous and to be beloved; to be famous as a scientist, in which profession he was interested in his youth, but he became famous as a lavish entertainer and a lobbyist in Washington. He certainly was beloved by countless people in every walk of life, on account of his generosity and his deep and lasting friendships. He belonged to a New York family of wealth and position, married into the Astor family, won a fortune in business, experienced thrilling adventures in California and South America, lost much of the family fortune, and died in Italy. He was brother of Julia

Ward Howe and of Louisa Ward Crawford, who became the mother of F. Marion Crawford, and among his closest friends were Longfellow and Sumner. There are glimpses of all sorts of notables, including Ticknor, Garfield, Thackeray, Lord Rosebery and William Howard Russell. It is a complete portrait of a nineteenth century American gentleman and will be read with great interest.

GALLANT JOHN BARRY, 1745-1803. The Story of a Naval Hero of Two Wars. By William Bell Clark. 1938. 530 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$3.50.

This definitive biography of the great naval hero of the Revolution is a real contribution to American naval history. As the author states, Barry has been the football of propagandists for more than a century. "Seeking to create a great Roman Catholic naval hero, they have performed a disservice to their faith by over-emphasizing the religious aspect and actually under-emphasizing his splendid achievements." He describes the career of this young, self-educated Irishman through the perilous voyages and cruises, thunderous sea-fights, mutinies, insubordinations, hardships and heartaches which he experienced in the slow birth of the new navy. Original sources furnished by the family and others have been used with rare skill and the author has disproved many of the claims of previous writers. Barry was not "the first officer appointed to the first vessel purchased" by the Continental Congress, but he did outfit the first Continental fleet. He was never the senior officer of the Continental Navy, but his naval record was throughout better than any naval contemporary save John Paul Jones. He never received the rank of Commodore in the American Navy, but, as its senior captain, bore that title with honor until his death. He was not the "Father of the American Navy," in the sense of being its founder, but his devotion to that navy whose first ship he launched and equipped, entitles him to the appellation in a modified form. The book is written in an easy and readable form and will interest all who are lovers of thrilling sea stories, to say nothing of the many who are interested in the naval history of the Revolution. A complete genealogy of his descendants is included. It will find an honored place on the shelves of all libraries in the country.

ROGER SHERMAN, SIGNER AND STATESMAN. By Roger Sherman Boardman. 396 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Price, \$4.00.

The life of this Connecticut statesman surely must have some interest for the people of this locality, inasmuch as it was in Danvers (now Peabody) that the famous signer of the Declaration of Independence found his wife. Sherman's brother, Josiah, was pastor of the church in Woburn, where Roger was a periodic visitor following his settling in New Haven. He had been spending three weeks in that town and finding it necessary to return to attend to his mercantile affairs, he started on horseback accompanied by his brother. When a few miles out of town they met Miss Rebecca Prescott, granddaughter of Rev. Benjamin Prescott, who was on her way to visit her aunt, Mrs. Sherman, and the story goes that she, a maiden of twenty, so attracted the Connecticut merchant of forty-one that he returned to his brother's house, and they were ultimately married in 1763 in the parlor of the parsonage in Danvers. Roger Sherman's career epitomized all the best traits of New England character and accomplishment. Shoemaker, almanac maker, law student, and statesman, Sherman contributed a great share to the building of America. His influence as a leader in civic, educational and religious life is stressed in this book, and also the significant background of the times. Recommended to all libraries.

PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES OF INDIANA. By Eli Lilly. 1937. 293 pp., quarto, cloth, illus. Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Society.

The object of this book, as set forth in the author's preface, is "to interest more of the people of Indiana in the relics of our vanished predecessors, and to stimulate inquiry into the prehistory and archaeology of our state." It should more than serve its purpose. Not only is the material presented in an exceedingly attractive form, but the accumulated information gathered from many sources is of great value to people studying the archaeology of the Indiana region. The book opens with a summary account of the origin and antiquity of the American Indian, then takes up tentatively the Prehistory of Indiana. The next section describes the larger and better known mounds and sites of the state. The typeology of material found is then discussed with what would seem an undue amount of space given to ornamental



and ceremonial objects, as contrasted with more utilitarian material. Finally, there are chapters on materials other than stone that were used by the Indian, earthenware, and Indian fabrics. The book closes with an excellent bibliography on Indiana Archeology. One cannot close without mentioning the superb plates of objects. The specimens are brought out much clearer than is usual in illustrations of such things. The entire work reflects to the credit of the author and the Indiana Historical Society, and is an example which similar institutions in other states might well follow.—E. S. D.

**ROOM TO SWING A CAT:** Being Some Tales of the Old Navy.

By Frederick J. Bell, Lieutenant, U. S. Navy. Drawings by Pauline Glidden Bell. 1938. 272 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. Price, \$3.00.

Lieutenant Bell writes with authority and enthusiasm in this story of the days of wooden ships. He has had the advantage of intensive research in many contemporary records and the result is that he has produced a worthwhile and most readable volume which should appeal to all lovers of the sea. Having access to old logs, journals and letters, as well as documents, he has depicted many features common to life at sea from the Revolution through the War of 1812. The "Foreword" is by Claude A. Swanson, Secretary of the Navy, who recommends the book as especially appropriate since this year marks the anniversary of many notable occasions in our naval history. Lieutenant Bell tells of the customs and superstitions of the sailors, the songs they sang, the yarns they told, and the duels, the punishments, and other incidents of the daily routine. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

**HOLY OLD MACKINAW.** A Natural History of the American Lumberjack. By Stewart H. Holbrook. 1938. 278 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.50.

One especial interest in this book is the fact that it is the first serious publication devoted to the American logger. Those who enjoy reading of the rough and ready life of the American lumberjack, who migrated from Bangor, Maine, to the forests of Oregon, will find here a thrilling story of the not too nice adventures of this type. The author, who has himself worked in logging camps, writes that "in these mod-



ern days timber is harvested by cigarette-smoking married men, whose children go to school in busses, but for nearly three hundred years the logger was a real pioneer." Considerable space is given to an account of large holdings of millions of acres of timber in Maine, which were sometimes sold for twelve and a half cents an acre, and of the rivalry between Penobscot and Kennebec, as well as later exploits in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Then came the big jump to the Pacific Northwest and the Coast. It is the story of a vanished scene which was a part of the pioneering of olden days—when a man could walk with bare feet on the packed snow at thirty-five below, "drank straight alcohol, and fought not only with his fists but with his teeth." The book is written in a bizarre style.

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## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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VOL. LXXIV

OCTOBER, 1938

No. 4

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### THE STEPHEN PHILLIPSES

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BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

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It is not often in the history of a family that six consecutive generations of eldest sons all bear the same name. It is still more seldom that all hold positions of trust and distinction and take a hand in the management of their communities. For over two hundred years not a word of scandal in family or business life has been said against them. The family fortunes have ebbed and flowed, but they have faced their obligations like men, and their neighbors and friends have always trusted them.

#### REVEREND GEORGE PHILLIPS

All the notable Phillipses of Massachusetts are descended from one ancestor, namely, the Reverend George Phillips, who was born in Raynham, in Norfolk County, England, in 1593; graduated at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1614; was a curate at Boxted in Essex County; took an A. M. at Cambridge in 1617; and finally came to America on the Ship *Arbella* with Winthrop and Saltonstall in 1630.<sup>1</sup> With Saltonstall he founded Watertown and became pastor of the church. Intellectually gifted, he was also liberal in both religion and politics. His remark, quoted by Dr. Fuller of Plymouth in a letter to Governor Bradford, that if they would have "him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England he will leave them"<sup>2</sup> is susceptible of two meanings, and has caused considerable controversy as to

<sup>1</sup> Foote: Rev. George Phillips. M. H. S. C.

<sup>2</sup> 1st M. H. S. C., iii, 74.

whether he would permit them or whether he would quit the colony; in short, whether he was or was not a separatist. He was the first man in America to raise an objection to taxation without representation. He became an overseer of Harvard College six years after it was founded, soon after Henry Dunster became president, and perhaps as part of the movement to strengthen the college, but died too soon after to have had much influence.

That his presence was regarded as of great importance to the colony would appear from the fact that the first item of business of the first meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Company ever held in America was to provide for the maintenance of the two pastors, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Wilson. Mr. Phillips was provided for first, and had his option of £40 in cash per year or £20 and three hogsheads of meal, one of malt, four bushels of Indian corn, one of oatmeal, and half a hundred of dried cod fish.<sup>3</sup> A house was also to be built for him. Mr. Wilson also got a house, but only £20.

A few years later Watertown was doing better by Mr. Phillips, for he was getting £33—6—8 for one-half of a year's salary, which amounted to a third of the town's rate for the year 1642.<sup>4</sup> After his death in 1644 the town of Watertown seems still to have continued its loyalty to the family, because in 1647 his widow was freed from all rates for the town or the support of the ministry, which was to continue during the pleasure of the town.

From Rev. George Phillips are descended the Phillipses of Marblehead and Salem, those of Boston, Andover and Springfield, as well as those of Southold, Long Island. To mention some of the more notable, they include Wendell Phillips, the great anti-slavery orator, Stephen C. Phillips, the first free soil candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, Samuel Phillips, the founder of Andover Academy, Phillips Brooks, gifted preacher and beloved Bishop of Massachusetts, and John Phillips, the first Mayor of Boston. Most of the great families of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut have some admix-

<sup>3</sup> Massachusetts Bay Company Records, I, 73.

<sup>4</sup> Watertown Records, 9.

ture of the blood of George Phillips, but there are also many Phillipses who do not.

### THE FIRST JONATHAN

George's son Jonathan was only eleven years old when his father died, and he seems to have been a bit wild in his early days. The selectmen once warned him to give an account of how he spent his time,<sup>5</sup> and later his mother was sent for to give an account of his doings,<sup>6</sup> but he straightened out and tradition says he became a school-master. He certainly became a justice of the peace, which was a testimony to good standing in the community.

He probably lived with his mother in the old homestead<sup>7</sup> till a few months before her death in 1681, when he married Sarah Holland. He was then forty-seven years old, but they had a family of ten children, five or more of whom lived to grow up and marry. He died in Watertown in 1704.

### JONATHAN OF MARBLEHEAD

The second Jonathan was the fifth child of Jonathan of Watertown, and was born in 1697. He seems to have grown up there and we know nothing about his early life. His father died when he was eight, so he must have been brought up largely by his mother.

At the same time there was living in Watertown Stephen Parker,<sup>8</sup> the son of Joseph Parker who came to Newbury but early settled in Andover. He married Susanna Devereaux at Marblehead, January 10, 1694/5, who was probably a Hartshorn of Reading and the widow of John Devereaux of Marblehead.<sup>9</sup> They had a daughter Hepzibah, who was probably born in Charlestown, for Stephen seems to have paused there in his transit from Andover.

Now, on January 1, 1717, Jonathan Phillips's mother, Sarah Holland, after a dozen years of widowhood became

<sup>5</sup> Watertown Records, 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>7</sup> Phillips Genealogy, 39.

<sup>8</sup> Bond: Watertown, 868.

<sup>9</sup> N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., 74:120.

the second wife of John Bemis, a worthy widower. As they each had five or ten children, perhaps Jonathan thought the prospect too complicated and though only twenty, soon after married Hepzibah Parker and within two years moved to Marblehead. Hepzibah was a woman of fine strong character, and also brought into the family several names which appear in later generations, including Stephen, Ruth, Susanna and Hepzibah. As Jonathan had apparently no Marblehead connections, it was doubtless those of Hepzibah which drew them thither. Her sister was the wife of Joseph Swett, and her mother's first marriage had allied her to the Devereaux family.

The young couple brought with them to Marblehead their first child, born in Watertown, July 18, 1718, and known in the family records as Deacon Stephen Phillips. They must have come quite soon, because before the end of the year they both joined the First Church. Jonathan is alluded to in deeds of land he bought soon after as a "carter," whatever that may mean, but presumably he was a teamster, and no doubt the chief work was trucking goods and fish from wharf to wharf.

Marblehead must have had distinct limitations in those days. Rev. John Barnard's description of it in 1714 is not exactly a glowing one: "When I first came . . . the people contented themselves to be the slaves that digged in the mines and left the merchants of Boston, Salem and Europe to carry away the gains. . . . I thought it my duty to stir up my people . . . to send the fish to market themselves . . . to the enriching themselves. . . . But alas, I could inspire no man . . . till I met with Mr. Joseph Swett. . . . He first sent a small cargo to Barbadoes. He soon found he increased his stock, built vessels and sent the fish to Europe."<sup>10</sup>

But thus began the foreign commerce of Marblehead, which prospered till after the Revolution; our present interest in this is that Mr. Joseph Swett had married a Parker, a sister of Jonathan's wife Hepzibah, and the coming of Jonathan to Marblehead may have been connected with Mr. Swett's activities.

<sup>10</sup> 3d M. H. S. C., V, 239, 240.

## JONATHAN ACQUIRES REAL ESTATE

Early in 1719 Jonathan bought of Joseph Swett the piece of land on the southeast corner of Washington and Darling Streets, though Darling Street did not then exist. He soon bought other land northward along Washington Street and by 1729 had built a mansion house, so called, and a "new" house. Between these two was laid out in 1729 Darling's Lane, through to Front Street and across the lands of Jonathan Phillips and George Bethune by their mutual consent. It seems to have been an entirely private matter, as each wanted to go each way, and was not made a town way till March 21, 1763.<sup>11</sup> The mansion house where Deacon Stephen played as a boy still stands, though greatly remodeled and spoiled. These various lands cost £217, which was no small sum in those days, so the business of carter must have prospered, but I find there was still a barn on the back lot. One early land venture was a bit stormy, for Jonathan was, on June 5, 1721, a petitioner with some of the selectmen and others for the right to build a wharf. What the trouble with the project was is not clear, but one hundred and fifty-one of the most substantial men in town signed a petition against it and the project was long held up, though it finally passed. These wharfage rights became valuable and it seems probable that this wharf contributed largely to the early prosperity of the family. Perhaps the carting business worked in with it. All these lands were bought before 1731, and therefore before the son Stephen was of age.

These were peaceful, prosperous years in America. They were about the middle of the thirty years of peace which lasted from the Peace of Utrecht to the beginning of King George's War which involved the New England colonies in the vast expense of the Louisburg expedition and other military adventures. The trade with the West Indies was active and profitable. Massachusetts had more than three hundred vessels engaged in the fisheries,<sup>12</sup> and of these Marblehead had her full share no doubt. This trade was not without its dangers, even in time of peace,

<sup>11</sup> Town Record.

<sup>12</sup> Sabine: Report on Fisheries, 138.



for the Indians had learned how to navigate small sailing vessels and put to sea to plunder the fishermen who went to the eastward, and there were constant petitions to the General Court to supply guard vessels to protect the fishing fleet.<sup>13</sup>

Jonathan had been in Marblehead only a year or two when he was elected constable. This may sound like an honor, but it was far from it. The difficulty was not keeping order, but the fact that the constables had to collect the taxes. There were about six constables and they got about 12 pence on the pound for collecting. The total tax levy was divided among the six and charged to them personally. The only way they could free themselves was to pay the money or get abatements for their taxpayers, which were seldom granted. If the constable could not collect he was stuck, and his commission of 2½ per cent was soon used up. But that was not the worst of it; once elected, the constable must serve or pay a fine of £5, and in some years the town got as much as £150 from constables who bought themselves off. There seems to have been a sort of agreement that when you served or bought yourself off, you should not be elected again for about three years. Belligerent gentlemen sometimes sent word to the town meeting that they would neither serve nor pay but, with unfailing regularity, the adjourned meeting reports that they had decided to accept one of the alternatives. It seems probable that it was cheaper for a man of any means to pay than serve, as it would cost less in the end. The only men who could afford to serve were those from whom nothing could be collected as they had nothing. Jonathan declined to serve and paid his £5 fine, but two or three years later he did serve, and again in 1732. About 1740 the method was changed and a collector was appointed. That was Jonathan's undoing, as will be later narrated.

By 1740 Jonathan had risen to the estate of a "gentleman" and was no longer referred to as a "carter." This appears in a curious suit of the executor of James Stone, who claimed that £30 paid to Phillips by Benjamin Boden,

<sup>13</sup> Documents Relating to Marblehead, E. I. H. C., LXII, 115.

Jr., should have been paid over to Stone. The court at Newbury gave a verdict for Stone, the Superior Court at Salem reversed the verdict and then reversed itself again, but the appeal to the General Court decided it for Jonathan, so the £30 remained in the Phillips' treasury.<sup>14</sup>

#### JONATHAN'S CHILDREN

In these years, while Deacon Stephen was growing up, many changes occurred in Marblehead. Old Dr. Cheever the minister of the First Church, was well along in years, and in 1714 a contest between Rev. John Barnard and Rev. Edward Holyoke for the assistant pastorate had been easily adjusted by electing Mr. Barnard and helping Mr. Holyoke's friends to erect a building for him for a second church. Jonathan Phillips's family joined the First Church, of which the son long after became a deacon. The old meeting house on Franklin Street was enlarged and for over forty years Dr. Barnard officiated, and no doubt he baptised all the Phillips children except the Deacon himself, who was born in Watertown. All of the Deacon's brothers and sisters were born in Marblehead and there were nine in the family. Next to him came two girls, Hepzibah and Mary, then two boys, Jonathan and Samuel, then two girls, Susannah and Ruth, then a boy, George, and a girl, Lydia. Probably none of them except Stephen, Hepzibah, and possibly Mary, married in Marblehead. When the family moved to Newport, as will be presently related, the unmarried girls and younger boys no doubt went too, and their families went to build up Rhode Island and Providence, and their records will be found there, except Susannah, who returned to marry in Marblehead. No evidence exists that the others married or lived in Marblehead. Of those who remained in Marblehead, Hepzibah married, on Sept. 24, 1741, William Goodwin, Jr., and had nine children, including three girls, whom she named Mary, Ruth and Susannah for her own three sisters no doubt. Deacon John Goodwin was her son.

A Mary Phillips married Phil Cross in Marblehead

<sup>14</sup> E. I. H. C., LXIV, 126.

in 1746, the very year that Jonathan moved away, and Mary would then have been twenty-three, but no evidence remains that this was Jonathan's daughter nor is any record available of what became of them.

Susannah had a varied matrimonial experience. She married Captain Samuel Stacy, a prominent citizen of the town, in 1758, and seems to have had two daughters, Susannah who perhaps married Captain John Trefry, and Elizabeth who may possibly have married Jeremiah Dily. Susannah herself, after Captain Stacy's death, married Joseph Devereaux in 1775.

The names of a Jonathan Phillips and a Samuel turn up in the town records as holding minor offices or as jury men till about the time of the Revolution, but there is no other evidence of them or their doings nor can they be positively identified as brothers of the Deacon.<sup>14a</sup>

#### MARBLEHEAD IN THE 20's AND 30's

It was during the Deacon's childhood that the old Marblehead Town House was built, which, through many vicissitudes, still stands. Its building occupied most of the town's attention during 1726 and 1727, and Jonathan's name appears in connection with it. It has seen many stirring scenes. There the Deacon often "moderated" stormy town meetings and stood staunchly up for his country. It was built in 1727 on the site of the jail and cage and is now well into its third century and should be restored and preserved as an historic monument.

Samuel Ashton and Peter Jayne, the schoolmasters, were given a room in the new building, and doubtless little Stephen was one of the first scholars, as he was then ten. He certainly learned to read and write, though his wife did not, so probably only boys were educated in Marblehead in those days. A grammar school for boys had been started in 1675 and was maintained regularly afterwards.

The real schoolmaster during little Stephen's formative years was probably Richard Dana, who having seen one

<sup>14a</sup> The writer would appreciate hearing from any persons who believe they are descended from Jonathan Phillips.

schoolmaster fired out of hand, hired on for £80 a year with the proviso that the selectmen "doe Guife the sd scoule master three months waring in case they desire to put him out of sd scoule." Dana stayed ten years. In 1730 he was given the room under the Town House steps for 40 shillings per year, but let us hope he was not expected to sleep or keep school there. Eventually he became a lawyer in Marblehead and Samuel Stacy, Jr., took over his duties as schoolmaster in 1733. Probably the best schooling the future deacon ever got he received from Richard Dana.

A terrible epidemic of smallpox struck Boston in 1730, and in spite of every effort spread soon to Marblehead with disastrous results.<sup>15</sup> Many people died and sickness was almost universal, but the Phillipses seem to have escaped fatalities though there were then six young children in the family.

Through Joseph Swett, the Phillipses were connected with all the best Marblehead families. The children of his son Joseph, who was the nephew of Mrs. Jonathan Phillips and therefore first cousin of Deacon Stephen, married into leading families. One of the girls became Mrs. Robert Hooper, another Mrs. Jeremiah Lee, and the son married the daughter of Captain John Palmer.<sup>16</sup>

The clearest indication of the growing prosperity of Marblehead in the seventeen twenties is the great petition to the General Court for the improvement of the harbor presented to Hon. William Dummer, the Council and the General Court. This called attention to the need of protecting the beach to the Neck from further washing away, as "many now living can remember when this beach was covered with tree shrubs and grass which are all now worn away,"<sup>17</sup> and also of the building of a small fort to take the place of the "small battery . . . which being made of wood is long since gone to decay." This was for defence against privateers, pirates and "infectious vessels." The protection of a local fleet of ten to twenty

<sup>15</sup> Roads, 55.

<sup>16</sup> E. I. H. C., LXVII, 351.

<sup>17</sup> Petition, E. I. H. C., LVI, 310.

trading ships and over a hundred sail of fishing vessels was alleged as the reason. Among those who signed this petition were Jonathan Phillips, Azor Gale, grandfather of Deacon Stephen's future wife, William Goodwin, whose son married the Deacon's sister Hepzibah, and Samuel Stacy, Jr., who married his sister Susannah. Joseph Swett does not appear to have signed it, however, for some reason. At least a part of the petition was granted and a small fort was built.

Evidently Jonathan and Hepzibah had selected a growing community to move to and these years were prosperous ones. Regularly every other year another child was added to the family, until there were nine in all, the last one, Lydia, being born in the year when Stephen reached the age of twenty.

#### JONATHAN'S PUBLIC SERVICE

True to form in the old New England towns, evidently Marbleheaders considered the Phillipses newcomers for the first ten or fifteen years, and apart from the dubious honor of constable elected Jonathan to no public office. In 1732 he was made surveyor of highways and fence viewer and so continued for most of the next ten years. In 1736 he was clerk of the market and a year or two later tithing man. Most of these jobs were helpful. A few fees came in and you got a chance to rent your team and your services to the town, but in January 1741/2 Jonathan again got mixed up with the tax collecting job. He was elected collector of taxes, which office seems to have taken over the constables' jobs. Evidently collecting was difficult and these taxes now included the provincial rates and the crown officers were not inclined to be lenient. Marblehead was hard hit by the war and probably the people could not pay. At any rate, his Majesty's Treasurer and Receiver General issued a warrant to the sheriff of Essex to levy by distress on the estate of said Jonathan, a "defective constable of the Town of Marblehead," £83—9—6. Joseph Swett, his brother-in-law, bought in his property, so nothing was lost, and in the immediate preceding months more of his property any



way had been transferred to his son Stephen. A few months later and still in the year 1744 we find Jonathan at Newport, R. I., giving his wife Hepzibah, who still seems to have remained in Marblehead, a power of attorney to handle all his affairs and the last of his Marblehead property was turned over to his son. Two years later, in 1746, he died in Rhode Island, but probably not till his faithful Hepzibah had joined him with the younger children. Assuming that all lived to grow up they probably married in Rhode Island. Ruth certainly did, for she married first an Edwards who died early, and soon after a Tillinghast, and became the grandmother of the first Richard Henry Dana. Of the others I know nothing.

#### EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF MARBLEHEAD

There are two very interesting descriptions of Marblehead about the middle of the century, which give a pretty clear idea of the sort of town the Deacon lived in in his young manhood. One is by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a practical Scotch physician, and the other by Captain Francis Goelet, a New York merchant and probably a bit of a dandy. They reflect the points of view of the two men. Dr. Hamilton arrived from Boston by way of Lynn and describes the town as follows, in 1744:

At one o'clock I arrived at Marblehead, a large fishing town, lying upon the sea coast, built upon a rock, and standing pretty bleak to the easterly winds from the sea. It lies eighteen miles northeast from Boston, and is somewhat larger than Albany, but not so neatly or compactly built, the houses being all of wood and the streets very uneven, narrow, and irregular. It contains about 5,000 inhabitants and their commodity is fish. There is round the town above 200 acres of land covered with fish-flakes, upon which they dry their cod. There are ninety fishing sloops always employed, and they deal for £34,000 sterling prime cost value in fish yearly, bringing in 30,000 quintals,—a quintal being one hundred-weight dried fish, which is 3,000,000 pounds weight, a great quantity of that commodity.

I put up here at one Ried's at the sign of the Dragon, and while I was at dinner, Mr Malcolm,<sup>18</sup> the Church of Eng-

<sup>18</sup> Rev. Alexander Malcolm, rector of St. Michael's Church (1740-1749), who resigned and removed to Maryland. (Two Centuries of Travel in Essex Co., pp. 64-65.)

land minister to whom I was recommended, came in.

After I had dined he carried me round the town, and showed me the fish-flakes, and the town battery, which is built upon a rock, naturally well fortified, and mounts about twelve large guns.

Captain Goelet came from Colonel Browne's fine mansion on Folly Hill through Salem, and after spending over an hour in Marblehead gives the following picture, in 1750:

Wee arived at Marblehead at ab<sup>t</sup> 10 a Clock, which is ab<sup>t</sup> 4 Miles by Land, trough a Pleasent Country and good Roades, and is about 1 ½ Miles by Water, it forms a Bay, Marblehead lays on the Eastermost part of the Land but y<sup>e</sup> west Side the Bay, and Salem on a Point, the Westermmost part of the Land and Easttermmost Side the Bay, before you Enter Marblehead the Roads are Excessive Stony and Land very Rocky, affording only very little Pasture Ground, Put up at M<sup>r</sup>. Reads where Breakfast and Then went to see the Towne of Marblehead, has ab<sup>t</sup> 450 Houses all wood and Clapboarded the Generallity Miserable Buildings, Mostly Close in with the Rocks, with Rocky foundations Very Craggy and Crasey. The whole Towne is Built upon a Rock, which is Heigh and Steep to the water. The Harbour is Sheltered by an Island, which Runs along Parrallel to it, and brakes of the Sea, Vessells may Ride here Very safe, there is a Path or way downe to the warf which is but Small and on which is a Large Ware House, where they Land their Fish &c. From this heigh Clifty Shore it took its Name, I saw ab<sup>t</sup> 5 Topsail Vessells and ab<sup>t</sup> 10 Schooners and Sloops in the Harbour, they had then ab<sup>t</sup> 70 Sail Schooners a Fishing, with ab<sup>t</sup> 600 men and Boys imployed in the Fishery, they take Vast Quantities Cod, which they Cure heere Saw Several Thousand Flakes then Cureing. This Place is Noted for Children and Noureches the most of any Place for its Bigness in North America, it's Said the Chief Cause is attributed to their feeding on Cods Heads, &c. which is their Principall Diett. The Greatest Distaste a Person has to this Place is the Stench of the Fish, the whole Air seems Tainted with it. It may in Short be Said its a Dirty Erregular Stincking Place.<sup>19</sup>

Both descriptions clearly depict a pretty lively little fishing town and there is no doubt that fishing villages do have an aroma all their own. Evidently this offended

<sup>19</sup> Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, 75-76.

the delicate olfactory nerves of the fastidious captain and affected his whole feeling with regard to the picturesque little town.

#### DEACON STEPHEN OF MARBLEHEAD

Deacon Stephen Phillips was a joiner by trade, which presumably meant the finer grade of carpenter and cabinet maker, but in the seacoast towns carpenter was almost synonymous with shipwright, and it is a fair guess that the Deacon spent many hours on the finer woodwork of the ship cabins and deck work, though we have no proof of this.

In the tax list for 1748 Stephen Phillips is rated for three poll taxes besides himself, presumably apprentices or indentured servants, and there are only three other men charged for three polls and none with any more, and his whole tax places him among the first fifty largest taxpayers among about six hundred and fifty.

The Deacon did not marry till he was twenty-six years old, and then married a young lady who had been baptized in the First Church and was the daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Serle) Bull. Their banns were published June 11, 1744,<sup>20</sup> and they were married Sept. 27, 1744. There appear to have been no children of this marriage and where and when Sarah died is not in the record, but probably very soon.

His father's financial troubles came on just about this time and during the next few years he was probably too busy trying to help support the family and taking over and saving his father's home to afford to support a wife, but about five years after Jonathan moved to Newport, Stephen married on February 14, 1751, Elizabeth Elkins, who was born June 6, 1728, and was therefore ten years his junior.

#### ELIZABETH ELKINS—DEACON STEPHEN'S WIFE

Elizabeth Elkins was a descendant of people from Maine. Her father, Thomas, was born in Marblehead and was an innholder, but his father was Oliver Elkins

<sup>20</sup> Town Records, Book 3, p. 541 (or 506).

who was down at Casco Bay just before King Philip's war broke out, and was driven in with the other outlying settlers. He was in Lynn in 1678, in Salem in 1687, and came to Marblehead just before Thomas was born in 1689. He is mentioned in the town records as late as 1723. Thomas's mother was Jane Purchase of Pejepscot Plantation, where Brunswick, Maine, now stands.

Thomas Purchase, the father of Jane, was the brother of the famous Samuel of the "Pilgrims," and was a very early settler in Maine. He had his grant probably from the Council for New England,<sup>21</sup> and no doubt settled there about 1624.<sup>22</sup> He was not of the Puritan group and did not have much to do with them till 1639, when he sought the protection of the Massachusetts Bay Company. That curious and interesting personage, Sir Christopher Gardner, the knight of the Holy Melis, who may or may not have come over as a spy for Gorges, probably first landed to the eastward and perhaps had some relations with Purchase. At any rate, after he was arrested by the Plymouth people and turned over to the Bay Colony authorities with "the comely young woman whom he called his cousin,"<sup>23</sup> Purchase came to Boston and though a dignified man of fifty-five married the "comely young woman," by name Mary Grove. He lived with her happily for the next twenty-six years, but they seem to have had no children. She died in 1657 and he presently married the widow of Richard Pyke of Hampton, who no doubt looked forward to a quiet life with her elderly husband, then eighty-one years old, if her statement can be believed. Quiet retirement was not in the program, however, for she proceeded to have five children in the next seven or eight years, of whom Jane, the grandmother of Deacon Stephen's wife, was one. Mrs. Elizabeth Pyke was the daughter of Samuel and Jane Andrews of London, who came to Lynn in 1635. After Thomas Purchase's death she married John Blaney of Lynn and is the ancestor of many

<sup>21</sup> Palfrey, i, 593.

<sup>22</sup> Adams: Three Episodes, i, 258.

<sup>23</sup> Hutchinson, i, 29; Winthrop, i, 55; Bradford, ii, 140.

Lynn Blaneys also. This may account for the burial of her daughter, Jane Purchase Elkins, in Lynn.<sup>24</sup>

Elizabeth Elkins's mother was Elizabeth Gale, daughter of Azor Gale, from whom the famous Azor Orne of Marblehead was also descended, and further back came from Josiah Rootes, an early settler of Salem who moved to Beverly, and from William Dixy who ran the first horse ferry on the Cape Ann Side. Azor Orne was an own first cousin of Elizabeth Elkins Phillips. Their joint grandmother, Mrs. Mary Gale, was born a Rootes and was early left an orphan with considerable property. Ambrose Gale, presumably some kin of Azor, was her guardian, so it is not remarkable that she married Azor. No doubt her daughter Elizabeth was a nice girl but her literary attainments were not high, for she signed all deeds with her mark instead of her name.

#### CHILDREN OF DEACON STEPHEN AND ELIZABETH

In the next fifteen or twenty years eight children were born to Stephen and Elizabeth, of whom the first two probably died as infants, because nothing further is heard of them and both bore the name of Elizabeth, which was later given to the fourth child. Mary was the eldest who lived to grow up, and years afterwards, at the age of forty-eight, she married Captain Thomas Meek. The second surviving daughter, born in 1757, married in 1782 Captain John Grist. Sarah never married and lived to be a gentle old maid of seventy-four and was remembered pleasantly as Aunt Sally by her grand-nephews and nieces. Next came Stephen, a strong character, of whom more will be said later. Then came Lydia, who lived to grow up but not much longer, and died at the age of twenty-seven without ever marrying.

The last of the family was William, born in 1769. He moved to Fredericksburg, Virginia, and married in 1799, probably in Fredericksburg, Elizabeth Emerson, and left two daughters only one of whom lived to grow up, and, by two husbands, Captain Paull and Richard Dickey, she

<sup>24</sup> E. I. H. C., XXI, 26.



left five children, of which one Paull daughter and one son, John Dickey, lived to grow up.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE DEACON'S PUBLIC CAREER BEGINS

While the Deacon's children were coming along things appear to have prospered in the family. He was elected constable in 1739, but dodged that, and the notice of the meeting called to consider whether they should be released is most amusing: "to make choice of four constables in the room of Richard Homan, Stephen Phillips, Samuel White and Obadiah Bridges who have Refus'd and further to know the minds of the town whether they will let the Swine goe at large."<sup>26</sup> This was probably not intended as an insult to the four gentlemen.

Stephen was clerk of the market in 1747, surveyor and fence viewer from 1751 to 1753 and surveyor of lumber most of the time from 1755 on. In 1765 he was chosen Supreme Court Juror. The ablest men in town were kept on this jury list and those of lesser intelligence on the lower juries. Jonathan Glover, later the general, was on this list this year, but Elbridge Gerry, later Vice-President of the United States with Madison, did not appear till later.<sup>27</sup>

In the same year Stephen Phillips was chosen a deacon of the First Church. The office of deacon was an important one in the community where the church was the center of all social as well as religious life, and his appointment indicated that he was a man of position as well as a religious one. The First Church was the most important organization in the town and now he was one of its leaders.

#### AN EDUCATIONAL CRISIS

In 1767 there was some sort of an educational crisis in Marblehead and at the spring town meeting free education was voted for all needy children and a board of five trustees was elected to "order direct and manage ye affairs of ye schools."<sup>28</sup> These trustees included John Chipman,

<sup>25</sup> Bond's Watertown, 883.

<sup>26</sup> Town Record, March 31, 1740.

<sup>27</sup> M. R., IV, p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> M. R., March 6, 1767.

William Bourne, Robert Hooper, Nathan Bowen and Jeremiah Lee, some of the most prominent men in town, though all but Lee were probably Tories later. Their report recommended three schools with eighty boys and eighty girls in each. The boys were to go to school from 7 to 11 A. M. and 1 to 5 P. M., and the girls from 11 to 12 and 5 to 6. It will be noted that the schoolmasters thus worked ten hours a day and six days a week. Three new schools were to be built. Now the town might want education but this was far too ambitious a program and the town voted it down solidly and the trustees resigned in a body on September 8th. On October 12 they appointed five new trustees: Deacon Stephen Phillips, Mr. John Picket, Captain John Pedrick, Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain George Newmarch. Most of these men belonged to the patriotic party. They did not get too reckless with recommendations and the selectmen approved the three masters they selected, one of whom was Mr. Samuel Hancock, "late of Harvard College."<sup>29</sup>

This school row may have been just an evidence of the smoldering quarrel of patriots and tories and have had little to do with the real question of education, but anyway we learn that there were 450 or so boys and girls of school age, and four of these were the Deacon's.

Later in this year school affairs again cropped up and the Deacon appears on a committee to look into the conduct of one schoolmaster and employ another, and again appears as one of seven trustees. These were apparently not elected when other town officers were, but from time to time. He is almost always a surveyor of lumber, as is his brother-in-law, William Goodwin, and now usually included in the superior court jury list.

The five years from 1768 to 1773 were disturbed by rumblings of revolution, but there was little action. It was the lull before the storm, but at least it was a lull. These were happy peaceful years in Marblehead. The last threat of France passed away with the capture of Quebec in 1763, and in the next ten or twelve years the New England fishermen and traders prospered greatly.

<sup>29</sup> M. R., Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 8, 1767.

The shadow of the Revolution had not arisen, for the difference with the mother country grew slowly at first.

DR. BARNARD'S DESCRIPTION OF MARBLEHEAD  
IN 1766

Dr. Barnard, who had been minister of the First Church since the Deacon was a boy, has left an interesting account, partially quoted above, of the progress made by the town during just this period:

When I first came, (in 1714) there were two companies of poor, smoke-dried, rude, ill-clothed men, trained to no military discipline but that of "*whipping the snake*," as they called it; whereas now, (in 1766) and for years past, we are a distinct regiment, consisting of seven full companies, well clad, of bright countenances, vigorous and active men, so well trained in the use of their arms, and the various motions and marches, that I have heard some Colonels of other regiments, and a Brigadier General say, they never saw throughout the country, not in their own regiment, no, nor in Boston, so goodly an appearance of spirited men, and so well exercised a regiment. When I came, there was not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor tailor, nor butcher in the town, nor any thing of a market worth naming; but they had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. But now we abound in artificers, and some of the best, and our markets large, even to a full supply. And, what above all I would remark, there was not so much as one foreign trading vessel belonging to the town, nor for several years after I came into it; though no town had really greater advantages in their hands. The people contented themselves to be the slaves that digged in the mines, and left the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Europe, to carry away the gains; by which means the town was always in dismally poor circumstances, involved in debt to the merchants more than they were worth; nor could I find twenty families in it that, upon the best examination, could stand upon their own legs; and they were generally as rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting a crew, as they were poor. Whereas, not only are the public ways vastly mended, but the manners of the people greatly cultivated; and we have many gentlemanlike and polite families, and the very fishermen generally scorn the rudenesses of the former generation.

I soon saw that the town had a price in its hands, and it was a pity they had not a heart to improve it. I therefore laid myself out to get acquaintance with the English masters of vessels, that I might by them be let into the mystery of the fish trade, and in a little time I gained a pretty thorough understanding in it. When I saw the advantages of it, I thought it my duty to stir up my people, such as I thought would hearken to me, and were capable of practising upon the advice, to send the fish to market themselves, that they might reap the benefit of it, to the enriching themselves, and serving the town. But, alas! I could inspire no man with courage and resolution enough to engage in it, till I met with Mr. Joseph Swett, a young man of strict justice, great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension, and firm resolution, but of small fortune. To him I opened myself fully, laid the scheme clearly before him, and he hearkened unto me, and was wise enough to put it in practice. He first sent a small cargo to Barbadoes. He soon found he increased his stock, built vessels, and sent the fish to Europe, and prospered in the trade, to the enriching of himself; and some of his family, by carrying on the trade, have arrived at large estates. The more promising young men of the town soon followed his example; that now we have between thirty and forty ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners engaged in foreign trade. From so small a beginning the town has risen into its present flourishing circumstances, and we need no foreigner to transport our fish, but are able ourselves to send it all to the market.<sup>30</sup>

Joseph Swett has passed away, but the fine houses in Marblehead still standing testify to the wealth and prosperity of merchants like Jeremiah Lee, Robert Hooper, Azor Orne, Benjamin Marston and others who sent their ships to England, Spain and the West Indies to sell fish and bring back foreign goods.

#### DEACON STEPHEN'S ACTIVITIES

There is no evidence that the Deacon went to sea or even went fishing, but every Yankee traded in fish and goods, sent ventures in the overseas ships and took his risks with the larger merchants. Probably the Deacon was no exception. As a joiner he perhaps built mahogany furniture and shipped it to Virginia and Charleston. In

<sup>30</sup> M. H. S. C., V, 239.

fact there is a tradition that a high secretary still in the family was built by him.

With the purchase of the land which his father owned the Deacon had a considerable holding on what is now Washington Street, on both sides of Darling Street, and across Washington Street at the head of Darling Street. Beginning with 1764 he bought a good deal more land. First he extended the holdings around Darling Street, then called Cross Street, by buying quite a large piece on the northeasterly side for £100 from Robert Hooper. He also bought in two lots eight and five acres from Joshua and Mary Orne over on Salem Harbor west of Naugus Head, near where the old Ferry used to be. Why he bought this is hard to understand, for he was never a farmer and it appeared to be tillage land or at least pasturage, but it proved he had £163 of ready money, for that was the price. Undoubtedly the Deacon was prosperous in these years and was one of the substantial men of the town, but there is little evidence left of his activities and we must assume that through his trade of carpenter he had perhaps developed into a contractor who was doing a good business. From very early in his career he was always elected at the annual town meeting as surveyor of boards, shingles and clapboards, which indicates his continued connection with the building trades.

The annual town meeting of March 14, 1768, was definite evidence that the tories were losing control. Robert Hooper was dropped as selectman and Benjamin Marston ceased to be moderator. On July 15 a meeting was held to commend the representatives who opposed the vote to rescind the resolution for a Continental Congress. This meeting appointed a committee which consisted of Deacon Stephen Phillips, Azor Orne, Captain Thomas Gerry and others, who drew up a very patriotic letter which was sent to James Otis. Both Benjamin Marston and Robert Hooper were on some of these early committees to draw patriotic instructions and letters, and it seems as if a little moderation might have retained these two strong men for the patriotic side, especially as they signed instructions



to the representatives "to admit no right to levy taxes except the general court."<sup>31</sup>

#### DEACON STEPHEN BECOMES MODERATOR

In 1770, Deacon Stephen was chosen moderator of the town meeting for the first time. Anyone familiar with town affairs knows what a powerful person the moderator is. Not even the supreme court ventures to review the acts of a moderator. He can steer local legislation, appoint committees, and there is no appeal from his decisions except to adjourn the meeting, call another, elect a new moderator and reverse the action of the previous meeting. Deacon Stephen was to steer the obstreperous town of Marblehead through most of the Revolutionary years. That year there was not much revolutionary activity, nor in the two following years, so school activities came to the front again and the Deacon served with Elbridge Gerry, Jeremiah Lee and a few others as trustee of the schools. Whenever trouble arose in the schools he was likely to be put on a committee to investigate and that continued. Owing to the heavy loss of men in the fisheries there was an unusual number of orphans in Marblehead, and the question of free schooling for these poor boys was always pressing. In 1772 a committee reported there were 122 such poor boys.

The meeting of December 1, 1772, showed that the final phase of the Revolution was coming. The question of payment of judges by the crown was up for discussion and a set of spirited and rather original resolutions were passed and the first committee of correspondence was chosen. At an adjourned meeting the tories tried to get the resolutions, which certainly were treasonable, repealed, but were badly defeated only mustering five votes.

It was during the year 1773 that the Deacon began to be regularly elected moderator, and from that time on he seems to have been the man who was expected to serve and gave general satisfaction. For the next six years he was moderator of at least nine-tenths of the meetings, though each meeting of course elected its own. Most of

<sup>31</sup> M. R., May, 1769.

the summer and autumn meetings were devoted to a lengthy discussion of whether or not the smallpox inoculation hospital should be allowed on Cat Island, but December 7 a meeting was held at which the following set of highly inflammatory and, from the point of view of the crown, highly treasonable resolutions were passed:

Resolved as the opinion of this Town

1 st. That Americans have a Right to be as free as any Inhabitants of the Earth; and to enjoy at all times, an uninterrupted posession of their property

2 dly. that a Tax on Americans without their Consent is a Measure destructive of their Freedom; reflecting the highest Dishonour on their Resolutions to support it, tending to impoverish all who submit to it; and Enabling to dragoon and enslave them, all who receive it—

3 dly. that the late measures of the East India Company in sending to the Colonies their Tea loaded with a duty for raising a Revenue from america, are to all Intents & purposes, so many attempts in them & all employed by them to tax americans; and said Company as well as their Factors for their daring attacks upon the Liberties of America so long & resolutely supported by the Colonies, are entitled to the highest Contempt and severest Marks of Resentment from every american

4 thly. therefore resolved that the proceedings of the brave Citizens of Boston and Inhabitants of other Towns in the province, for opposing the Landing of this Tea, are Rational generous & Just; That they are highly honoured and respected by this Town for their noble Firmness in support of american's Liberty; and that we are ready with our lives and Intrest to assist them in opposing these and all other measures tending to enslave our Country—

5 thly. That Tea from Great Britain, subject to a Duty, whether shipped by the East India Company or imported by persons here, shall not be landed in this Town while we have the means of opposing it, and that on every attempt of this Kind immediate Notice shall be given to our Brethren in the province—

6 thly. And whereas the Tea Consignees at Boston who persist in Refuseing to reship the Tea lately consigned them by the East India Company have openly trifled with the forbearance of that respectable Community and thereby discovered themselves void of Decency vertue or Honour. therefore Resolved that it is the Desire of this Town to be free

from the Company of such unworthy Miscreants; and its determination to treat them wherever to be found with the Contempt which they meritt: as well as to carry into Execution this Resolution against all such as may be any ways concern'd in landing Tea from great Britain thus Rendered baneful by its Duty.

Voted. the Committee of Correspondence of this Town be desired to comply with the Requirements of the 5 Resolve

Voted. that the Committee of Correspondence of this Town be Desired to obtain from the Town Clerk's office an attested copy of this days Resolves and forward the same to the Committee of Corrispondence at Boston<sup>32</sup>

No name is mentioned as the sponsor of these resolutions, no name is mentioned in the record of the meeting except Deacon Stephen Phillips, and if the Revolution had petered out there is no doubt that the Deacon had been clearly designated for the honor of being hanged as a traitor. Because through his courage and that of many others, it did not fail, he is surely entitled to his place in the Revolutionary hall of fame. Of all that group of brilliant Marblehead men, General John Glover, Elbridge Gerry, later Vice-President of the United States, Jeremiah Lee and Azor Orne of the Provincial and Continental Congress, who did such splendid work afterwards, none was implicated in this first act of high treason except quiet old Deacon Stephen Phillips.

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her  
wretched crust

Ere her cause brings fame and profit and 'tis prosperous to be just."

It was several months after this when, on petition of Mr. Edward Fettyplace, a meeting was called to decide the question "whether we shall hereafter be freemen or slaves." The Deacon moderated that meeting also, and the following committee of correspondence was chosen: Mr. Joshua Orne, Deacon Stephen Phillips, Deacon William Dolliber, Mr. Edward Fettyplace, Captain Nutt, Mr. John Gerry and Captain John Prince.<sup>33</sup>

At the annual town meeting in March, 1774, the Deacon

<sup>32</sup> M. R., IV, 153.

<sup>33</sup> For whom Dr. Nathaniel Bond was substituted.

was elected Moderator and Assessor. This meeting, called by warrant of the royal governor, was not adjourned because it was doubtful if the town would get authority to call another for some time. The royal governors had discovered that these town meetings were an effective means of stirring up the people, and were not partial to them. The leaders foresaw the difficulty and the annual meeting of March, 1774, was not adjourned *sine die* till that of March, 1775, had been called, so the Deacon continued to lead the town during all the exciting meetings of the year 1774. A meeting that ran parallel with this one, called for some purpose in June and moderated at various times and adjournments by Elbridge Gerry, Azor Orne and Jeremiah Lee, also operated for a while during the summer and did things which by no stretch of legal imagination could be considered legal.

#### ATTACK ON THE TORIES

In May the Deacon was placed on the committee to instruct the representatives to the General Court, and on a special committee with Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Broughton<sup>34</sup> and others to consider what steps should be taken with regard to those who had signed the address to Governor Hutchinson. This was the first open hostile step against those in Marblehead who sided with the king. The committee presented seven resolutions denouncing the addresses in most scathing terms, but that was not the end of it. These men, unlike the modern politicians of the school of William J. Bryan, did not stop with mere talk, and when they had got other important things done they ordered the town clerk<sup>35</sup> to make a list of those who were "rebels against the state," by which they meant loyal to the king. On November 21 they met and adjourned to 2:30 to take into consideration James Sullivan and the Hutchinson addressors who had not recanted. Among other recantations accepted were those of Joseph Lee,

<sup>34</sup> Later captain in Glover's regiment and appointed by Washington to command the *Hannah*, the first ship of the American Navy.

<sup>35</sup> Meeting Nov. 7, 1774.



Captain Jonathan Glover, and Captain Jonathan Prince, all of whom proved to be good patriots thereafter. However not all recanted, and the five leading patriots of the town, Jeremiah Lee, Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Joshua Orne and Deacon Stephen Phillips were made a committee to consider their cases. A fortnight later the committee denounced Hon. Robert Hooper, Benjamin Marston, Esq., Major John Pedrick, Mr. John Prentice, Nathan Bowen, Esq., and Thomas Robie, Esq., as enemies of their country, and probably all but Major Pedrick fled. He reformed. John Gallison and Jacob Fowle were required to make their recantation more full and explicit, and they did. A fortnight later a committee was appointed to expel or silence "all ministerial touts and Jacobites," and the tory question was over.

But while this had been progressing, the town meeting which we may call the Deacon's to distinguish it from the other one which was also going on with adjournments, was doing other things. In June<sup>36</sup> they instructed their representative to denounce the Boston Port Bill, to recommend the idea of a Continental Congress to consist of committees from each colonial assembly, to urge the House not to consent to any annulling of the charter, and to stand firmly up for their sole right to legislate for the colony. During June and July the various adjournments considered "the solemn league and covenant," which was the high-sounding name of the non-importation agreement, and ordered the constables to warn the inhabitants against the use of tea. At adjournments in August they appointed delegates to the Ipswich convention and took up the question of disciplining the militia. They also provided for securing the town's supply of powder, but the powder could not be found, and the question was, Who borrowed it?—which is still unsettled.<sup>37</sup>

#### PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Meanwhile the parallel town meeting of which Elbridge Gerry and Azor Orne were usually moderators began oper-

<sup>36</sup> Meeting, June 6, 1774.

<sup>37</sup> Meeting Sept. 26, 1774.



ations on June 27, and dealt largely with electing members of the Congress and providing money therefor. Presently Deacon Phillips and Ebenezer Foster were appointed a committee to find out how much money there was in the treasury. They found only £9—8—10, and that was sent to Thomas Cushing, Esq.<sup>38</sup> After many refusals, Jeremiah Lee, Azor Orne and Elbridge Gerry were elected delegates to the Provincial Congress and duly instructed. It must be remembered that this was the first congress held in direct disobedience of Governor Gage's orders, and it took courage to go. After appointing a committee to prevent any inhabitant from supplying anything to the troops, this town meeting seems to have dissolved.

The Deacon's town meeting kept steadily on and at its adjourned session of November 7, it took up the militia question in earnest. Each company must meet on parade, each man must have a firearm and a bayonet, and a committee was to make up an alarm list. A month later<sup>39</sup> a committee was chosen to wait on such militia officers as claim they must obey General Gage's orders and advise them that they must publish their resignations in the *Essex Gazette*. This worked all right, for the resignation of John Glover and most of the other officers were pronounced satisfactory at the next meeting. The constables were directed to warn the rest against using their commissions and the people against obeying them, and other officers were ordered to fill their places.

At the meetings in January, 1775, the question of minute men was taken up in earnest and £800 was voted to pay them. The Deacon was a member of all the committees appointed to execute these plans, and his future son-in-law, Captain John Grist, was one of the constables directed to make the collection. These minute men were the members of the famous Glover regiment.

Early in 1775 there was a series of very heated meetings to try to keep the fishing fleet from sailing, partly from fear of capture, but also partly to prevent trading

<sup>38</sup> Meeting July 11, 1774.

<sup>39</sup> December 12, 1774.

with the English in Nova Scotia or Newfoundland; there was so much opposition, however, that it was "voted to let the fishing matter subside."

At the March meeting in 1775 the Deacon was elected to the board of selectmen, and during the next three years he continued to hold that office and was also assessor and also on the committee to settle town accounts and the Committee of Correspondence and Public Safety most of the time. In the six years from August, 1773, to August, 1779, he was moderator of seventy-two town meetings or adjourned meetings, and during that time all the actions which organized the Revolution were taken. He presided over the last town meeting ever called "in His Majesty's name," which took place on the day of the Battle of Bunker Hill, over the meeting which raised the money to build the fort,<sup>40</sup> and another one a few months later<sup>41</sup> "to frustrate the attempts of those Brutal Dogs of War" by fortifying the town. He presided on June 17, 1776, when the town voted that "if the Continental Congress . . . should publish such a declaration<sup>42</sup> this town will support them with lives and fortunes," and later<sup>43</sup> when the Declaration of Independence was recorded in full on the minutes of the meeting.

The meeting of May 28, 1777, was the first one called in the name of the Government and people of Massachusetts Bay. After they got through with His Majesty, they dodged the issue by taking the authority of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. All these meetings dealt with raising soldiers, paying bonuses, providing for soldiers' families, raising funds for the government and the various activities of war.

On January 20, 1778, the Deacon moderated a meeting to adopt the articles of Confederation, and a little more than a year later another one to approve the making of a state constitution, and the names of the men who voted for it are all recorded.

<sup>40</sup> Town Records, Sept. 18, 1775.

<sup>41</sup> May 6, 1776.

<sup>42</sup> Of Independence.

<sup>43</sup> December 23, 1776.

Suddenly, at the March meeting in 1779, the Deacon retired as selectman and assessor and a few months later retired from the post of moderator. For a couple of years he remained on the Committee of Public Safety. He presided at three or four more meetings during the war but his great period of activity was over. He was sixty-two years old and one is forced to the conclusion that the six years of intense activity had broken his health and that he gave place to younger men.

#### SERIOUS CONDITIONS IN MARBLEHEAD

The intense drive of the war went on. Always the call for men, for taxes, for supplies, for more effort to keep the war going. The constant alarms of attacks from British cruisers and the steady pressure for more fortifications and defences. The only source of income of the town, fishing and trade, was at a standstill. There was wretched poverty and starvation. The people could stand it no longer, and the town meeting<sup>44</sup> ordered that a report of conditions be compiled and submitted to the General Court. The Deacon was on this committee to meet the General Court Committee. They reported that of 831 men of Marblehead, 477 were not in business, 121 were missing and 166 in captivity, leaving only 67 employed. Of 1069 women, 378 were widows; of 2242 children, 672 were fatherless. It was only at this point that they began to ask for consideration, and yet we felt 1782 was serious! They also filed an estimate of the number of houses, stores, barns and fences that had had to be burned for fuel since the war began! The General Court took one look at the report and voted to abate two-thirds of the taxes and requisitions on Marblehead. This did not, however, give them food or fuel.

The only fuel of the time was wood, and years before all the wood in Marblehead had been cut off and the town had depended, as had most of the seacoast towns, on sloops which brought cord-wood from the Maine coast. Neck's Cove had long been reserved for the wood sloops and they were required to vacate as soon as they could unload, so

<sup>44</sup> November 20, 1780.

as to give place to others. For many years the Deacon's father was on the committee to keep Neck's Cove clear, and there was constant allusion to it in the Town Records. With the blockade maintained by the British frigates, less and less wood came from Maine and soon the supply ceased. As Salem was far nearer the local supply than Marblehead and equally short of fuel, none reached Marblehead, so fences, barns and houses went, save for such driftwood as the beaches supplied.

Food was equally scarce. The few farms out on the plain were good and the little gardens between the rocks were assiduously cultivated. Fishing around the shore went on, but the schooners were not coming in from the banks laden with great codfish. It was a case of cunners and smelts, and it takes a lot of smelts to feed a hungry boy. Occasionally a prize of a privateer came in laden with good solid barrels of flour and pork destined for Lord Howe's troops in New York but redirected to a better purpose. On the whole, it was a cold and hungry time, and men, women and children shivered and starved to squeeze out what they could to send to Glover's soldiers with Washington.

The Deacon's eldest girl Mary was only twenty when the war began, and there were five younger ones. The youngest was six. He must have been hard put to it to make a living. The Deacon's son years afterwards did not even like to talk of the period, saying it was a time of gruelling poverty and bitter suffering, but the family hung together and lost neither faith in God nor its love of country.

Justice Joseph Story, who was born in Marblehead during the war, wrote: "When I was young there were many discouragements under which it<sup>45</sup> was laboring. Its whole business was annihilated during the Revolutionary War. Many of its inhabitants entered the army or navy or served on board privateers, and from the calamities incident to such situations, the close of the war found the town with upwards of nine hundred widows whose hus-

<sup>45</sup> i. e., Marblehead.

bands had perished in the contest."<sup>46</sup> These figures do not quite match with the official town figures above but they show how impressed people were with the seriousness of the situation in Marblehead.

#### THE DEACON RETIRES

Till the close of the war the Deacon appears to have been out of public affairs. He only held an occasional office of a temporary nature, but with the spring meeting in 1783 he returned to the town duties vigorously. He became again moderator, selectman and assessor, and so continued for the next four years. How much he had actually to do with it, we cannot tell, but at once the town reorganized its finances and put them on a firm basis. The town debts were examined and determined, £28,250 in notes were commuted into £753 in specie. The claims of returning tories were examined and opposed. Little favor could be expected of men who also had lost all they had as well as sons and brothers. The town house and other town property was repaired and put in order. Fifty-one men were contributed to the force to suppress Shay's rebellion.

It is interesting that in 1785 only persons with £3 income or property worth £60 in silver at 6 shillings 8 pence per ounce could vote for governor, and there were just 32 voters in 1785, but it might be noted that in 1782, with no property limitation, it was not possible to get anybody to come to the town meetings and there was no interest in town affairs. It is like the lack of interest in public affairs we have seen in the twenties and thirties, when people of intelligence stay away from the polls and say what is the good anyway.

At the age of seventy, the good old Deacon was elected selectman, but declined to serve and retired from public life except his life-long job of surveyor of lumber and cord-wood which seems to have continued.

The Deacon's three oldest daughters came of age during the bitterest days of the Revolution. Elizabeth alone mar-

<sup>46</sup> Life and Letters of Joseph Story, by William W. Story, I, 31, 32.



ried in early life. At twenty-five she married Captain John Griste, a substantial citizen, but they had no children and she long outlived him. I do not know just where in Marblehead they lived during their twenty-two years of married life, but probably not far from the center of the town. Mary, Sarah and Lydia, who was twelve years younger than Mary, continued to live at home. Lydia died in 1794, when only seventeen, but the others all outlived their parents, and in 1803 Mary married Captain Thomas Meek as his second wife. He had six children by his first wife, Charity Vickery, but none by his second, and only lived eight years after his marriage. Sarah lived all her life in single blessedness, as the old phrase ran, which testified to the usefulness of these good old-fashioned New England old maids.

The three ladies, after the death of their husbands, gathered into one household and lived together, cared for by their brother, Captain Stephen Phillips, and his son Hon. Stephen C. Phillips. They were tenderly remembered by Stephen C.'s children, who often spoke of them to the writer as Aunt Griste, Aunt Meek and Aunt Sally. They were all living into the 1830's, and the last, Aunt Meek, died in 1844.

Of the sons, more will be said of Captain Stephen later, but William, the youngest, was only six when the Revolution began, and twenty when the Constitution was signed. Soon after, probably in connection with the coastwise trade that existed with Virginia, he moved to Fredericksburg, and in 1799 married Elizabeth Emerson and had two daughters.

Of the Deacon's later years little is to be said except that he continued to live where he always had, with his family around him, till his death in 1801 at the ripe age of 82. His wife outlived him a year and a half. Knowing the character of his three daughters, we can assume that the old people had affectionate care and attention, and also knowing the sturdy and loyal character of his son, Captain Stephen Phillips, already prospering and a bachelor till he was well over thirty, it is pretty safe to assume that he did not allow his parents or sisters to suffer.

And so the good Deacon and his wife passed off the stage, life-long residents and good citizens of Marblehead. They are buried in the old cemetery and there are two big slate stones erected some hundred and twenty-five years ago to their memory and still (1938) in excellent shape.

NOTE.—The author will be grateful to receive any corrections or further data about any family lines.—JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS, Topsfield, Mass.

*(To be continued)*

### NEW WHARF IN BEVERLY, 1753.

To any of His magistries Justices of the peace for the County of Essix

The petetion of the propriators of the new wharf So Caled In Beverly

Pray that you wod Grant a warrant to Call a Propiators Meeting In sd Beverly for the Better Regulating and Improueing the sd wharfe—and first to Choos a moderator & 2<sup>d</sup>Ly to Choos a Clark and 3<sup>d</sup>Ly to Choos a wharfinger and if need be to Choos a Tresurer and Collector and to ascertaine the price of all marchandize that shall or may be Landed or Shiped from sd wharfe and also the wharfage or all Shiping that may have ocation to make use of sd wharfe and to ac—at sd meeting all other Things that may be needfull and neccesary to be Don for the well Regulating and Improueing the premisarys and that the Collector of sd wharfage may have power to Compel Delinquents to pay Shuch wharfage as becomes Due from any marchandize or vessel Laying at sd wharfe as above sd—and your Petionours Shall Forever Pray  
Dated at Beverly 20<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1753

Joseph Wood	} The Propiators of the new Wharf In Beverly Dec. 20 <sup>th</sup> 1753.
Benj <sup>a</sup> : Eliot	
And. Woodbury	
John Trask	
John Lovet	
Peter Groves Jr.	

—Bowditch Mss., Essex Institute.

# REVOLUTIONARY DIARY KEPT BY GEORGE NORTON OF IPSWICH, 1777-1778

NOW IN POSSESSION OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

[This diary is of considerable interest from the unusual record of events which it discloses, rather than its length. Among the unique happenings is the account of the execution of the Tory, Moses Dunbar, of Hartford, Connecticut, on March 19, 1777. George Norton was born at Chebacco parish, Ipswich, on October 7, 1739, the son of Thomas and Mary (Perkins) Norton. He married, Sarah, daughter of Oliver and Sarah (Whipple) Appleton, the intention being published on October 20, 1764. He was recorded as a boat builder. They had six children, born between 1766 and 1784, in Chebacco parish.]

January 3 [1777] throw Hartford to  
Planefield ..... 15 miles  
Waterbury ..... 15 miles  
Woodbury, Dobbs ferry, Newtown, Danbury, Salem,  
Cortland manah, North Castell, Tarrytown.

17 the Company on Gard all Night

18 Day the general orders to march to Kings Bridge  
marched in night Cold indeed froze very [torn] fall  
Nothing to Eat but frozen bread & meat to Eat all Day  
& lay on the Grond Cold hard doing [illegible]

the Night 18 ye Rigement marched at 11 clock Down  
to Kings Bridge & Drove in the Gard & Took Som Plun-  
der blancits & guns on a scout all Day nothing to eat but  
frozen meat & bread to Eat it was said 3 froze to Death  
& marched 9 miles that night to Lodg much tired but  
cheered

January 19 Day Marched down to King George Bridge  
and Tarryed 4 Days Lade on the Ground 4 Nights &  
then Returned to Dobs farry in Storm of Rain 9 miles  
tarried one Day and then Marched Down to Kings Bridge  
Tarry 3 Days lodg on the Ground Cold and marched to  
Dobs farry 28 in Snowstorm & Tarry there 4 Days  
and then orderd on to march to Whites planes to Hatfield  
where the fite was & there tarryd 11 Days & we went on  
Gard 2 Times went 9 miles to Gard and the People killed  
2 of the Lite horse and took one Lite horse.

January 12: 1777.

Orders come to March to Morristown & marched to Cortland Maner 18 mile tarry on Day.

14 Day marched to Crumbond 7

15 Marched Pickails [Peekskill]

16 Marched Down to the farry & then over haverstraw

17 Marchd to Cokeatt 14

18 March to Ammepaw 12

19 March to Moristown 16

20 Marched to Bound Brook 20

and there rested two Days

23 Then Com Orders to Parade at the Cornwall House at 7 oclock.

24 & then Marched to Piscatia to the Guard house and took 2 men & on horse and small Brush for a Little while fired shots then Came of with our Party som was wounded the Bauls did whistle over my head.

January 24 A snowstorm 15 inches Deep one subaltern & one Sergeant one Corpl 8 privets

25 Bound Brook fair weather the wind to the west & Pleasent Got som wood to Burn They had a Brush at Trintown [Trenton] & Drove them & Kill & wonded 4 wagon Lode of men.

26 Deserted from Hows a Agitent he sayed that they had Lost good men sence come to York

4 of us have bin cuting wood

27 1 Subaltern & Sargent & Coporal & 12 Privets to mount Gard the Grounds Round 1 came round to see us foule wather the wind to the souwest & westerly & wet & cold wather 4 Clock Drank A Dish of Coffey in ampel manner.

28 Come of Gard the Capt Cetch a haire Cold wether ye wind N west snow 18 inch Deepe It is said that Hows army is [torn] spare bageg up to march.

When we was on Gard I saw Brunswick & where that How was & Quibble-Town for we was about half of a mile from Hows main Body where we had the Brush. I expected the Baules hit us Every moment for they sung in my ears on Every side but Kind Providence Protected me for the balls was on Every side.

March 1, 1777 Bond Brook the wind to Estward &

Snow Storm their Came out from Hows Army a flag o truce to General Wasinton Army in hast from Brunswick 15 men went on Gard sergent went to draw Provisens for the Company Poor Beafe & flower.

The General Lincoln & Cirnal are gon to Moristown to Genal Washinton with the Truce for desire to know what is in the flag Truce.

March 2 Sunday Bond Brook Cold & the wind to the Norward. Naomi Gay Come with the Letters for the whole Company but I Take it unkind for Mr. Gay would not tell nothing because you would not write by him but the Stores are most Gone & the Time is most Out they are Brushing Each Day there is a firing toDay toward the Enemy we Draw Provision that looks as if it Died alone but I had some Portaters that I bought & I had a fine Dinner today for we Cant get now sace to Eat of only Beafe & flower to Eate.

Monday 3 Pleasent Capt on Gard & 14 Men some Torys to Cook. Brown Bought the wagons to gow home with & carry the Bagige You can forward the Letters to come home.

TuesDay March 4th on Lieutenant on Gard I & 12 men went on Gard on Coporal to the Mountain Gard to Day Draw Privition 12 men Called for to gow to forrige Cold & snowstorm winter Like wather

5 Day went on Gard on Sergt one Coporal 12 men to Mount Gard

6 Day wind N. Est & Snow Storm went on Gard on Sergt & on Copral & 12 men fixing the wagon for the march home to Carry the Bagige

7 the wind to the westward & fare I went on Gard & 12 men & Copiral

8 Day Pleasant wather a Number of the People sick Tilton gave orders to move the Bagige 5 mile back & the sick.

March 9:1777 Sunday Pleasant march like wether but Cloudy wee heare the How Troops are pacing up the Bagige & are going of. this Day saw the spring birds Plenty wet under foot a Party of men went Down to them & fired at them 14 men went on Gard This day the old carter, Brown, washed his face & handes he Desired to



have it seat down in the Journal the first time since he Come in.

This Day our People had a brush & Drove them & took one wagon load of Blancits and 4 fine horse 9 Prisoners we Dont hear or know further

March 10 14 men went one Gard 100 hundred of our men went Down to the Heshans & Gave them a Chaling & they Came out 300 of the & they Ingaged & they Killed 5 of them & Drove them in again & Took a number of Horses from them fine pleasant Wather for the Time of a yeare the snow Run fast

11 Pleasant wather I mont Gard & 13 men which is my Last Tower wee hear by Mr Graham that come out of York that 3 Days before he left York that the Large Ships Left York its suppose gone home further said that they had Settled the Expençe for the Year & know Pro-  
vition any forron Troops only Provition for them that are heare Now

Hartford the 19, (March) 1777

This Day Moses Dunbar a Tory was Hanged at Three of Clock in the After-noon he Came to the Gallows with a Rope about his Neck & Bible in his hand with a Gard 100 of Hundred men to Gard him & the High Sherif they marched the Slowstep with the Musick Playing the Hangman Led the Horse he had a Bible in his hand he got up on his Coffin and stood & sayed a Trifel

He Prayed that his men that he had Listed would Not seek Revenge for his Blood

His wife was with Child he mad a Short Prayer & Read Part of a Chapter in Job he Died a Tory & he Professed the Church of ingland.

The names of the Towns from Bound Brook to Ipswich  
Somerseat Quibletown Colch Planes Springfield New-  
work 20 Secon River Slaer Dams Derranum Sod-  
don River 34 Cakeatt Havastraw Kingsfary Pitch  
Kills 30 Cotland Manor Renjebund Zocor Hill New  
Farefield New Milford 45 Litchfield Harvingtown  
Farmintown 29 Hartford 30 Bolton Coventry Mans-  
field Wellington Ashford Woodstock Dudley Oxford  
Sutton Grafton Westbury Southbury Framingham  
Sutbury Westtown Waltham Menteme

To Expence of my own on the Road	
paid .....	1:4:0
John Smith In form of the hay	
proceed to Pomfret from thence to Brookline, to Canterbury then go over Butts Bridge & Enquire for Arkelaus Tavern then Enquire for Capt Prentice or Robert Starkweather in Stonington	
Natha Norton Esqr Dr. to Cash	2:12:0
Payed for Carting 5 bushel of Rey	
EUnited States Dr to Expenses	
To one Day Expence man & hors	1: 1:6
To one Day Expence man & hors	1: 2:6
To one Day Expencees Man & hors	1: 0:6
Eunited States Dr to George Norton when Employed in Collecting Forage Matter	
Left 29 bags at Mr. Starkweather house	29
Bound Brook March 13	
Crđ by mony Payed	
Nathaniel Fowler Crđ	0:2:0
Fouler Crđ	0:1:0
Cr by Cash	0:2:0
Cr by Cash	0:2:0
Cr by Cash	0:3:0
Cr by Cash	0:4:0
Cr by Cash	0:1:0
Cr by Cash	0:5:0
Cr by Cash	0:2:6
Cr by Cash	0:1:6
	1:4:0
George Norton Crđ	0:2:9
Crđ by Cash	0:2:6
Crđ by Cash	0:3:9
Crđ by Cash	0:1:3
Crđ by Cash	0:9:6
Crđ by Cash	0:0:6
Crđ by Cash	0:4:9
Crđ by Cash	0:0:9
Crđ by Cash	0:1:1
Eunited States Dr to Expences	
To one Night Ex in Corlect forage	

One Night for man & hors	1: 1:6
Do .....	1: 1:6
For Two Dinners	0:12:0
To Brakfast & Oats	0: 8:0
October 21 1778	0: 2:0
to one Glass Rum	0: 2:0
to one mess oats	0: 2:0
to one Dinner	0: 6:0
to one Dinner	0: 6:0
Rehoboth Octo 24 to Expences Dr	
to Keeping man & hos one Night	0:18:0
to passing the Farry	0: 3:0
Smithfield Octo 27 to Expences Dr	
To Keep man & hors one Night	1: 0:0
To a Dinner & Batin hors	0: 8:0
Smithfield Octo 28 1778	
Eunited States to George Norton Dr	
To one Dinner & keeping hors	0:10:0
Hors oats	0: 2:0
Novm 2 Billingham Dr	
Dinner & Oats	0: 8:0
to bating hors	0: 2:0
3 One Night for Man & hors	1: 0:0
to bating hors	0: 4:0
This Accounts is settled & Payed	
Cumberland Novm 4 1778 Dr	
to Expences for myself	
to bating hors a Day	0: 4:0
to one Night for self & hors	1: 3:0
to one Dinner & Bating hors Day	0:13:0
to Drink Grog	0: 3:0
to bating hors Twice	0: 4:0
to Dinner & bate hors	0:10:0
This is Setteld for	
Novem ye 20 1778	
Colonal Boyin (?) Dr	£60: 0:0
for A hors sold him for the Contenant	
to one hundred of flower	£12: 0:0
to Cash on hand I have by me	27: 0:0
Nathaniel Norton Esq Dr	
to Cash Lent for Carting Ry	0:12:0

to 28 Pd of flower - 3: 0:0  
 this is Settled & Clear

Decem 13: 1778

George Norton to Benj Aplin Dr.

for Cash Recd 82: 6:0

wait of Roxbury for wool & Clark for wool for Brother

Recd of Nat Norton 120 Dollers

to By wool & 28 Dollers of father at Boston

Stongingtown a memimrandum of oats Purchised for  
 the Contenant

by lemuel Lam to 130 bushel

Mr tiler to 30 bushel

th Rev Mr Parks 20 bushel

John Kimbal 20

..... 30

Mr Parks 20

Dr to 3 Bushel Ry Bought for My own Fuse

to carry home £6: 6:0

to 28 Pd of flower £3: 0:0

1778 Eunited States Dr to Expences

Novm 25 to Dinner & bat hors 0:10:0

26 to one Night for Self & hors 1: 4:0

to one Night for Self & hors 1: 3:0

to Dinner & oats 0:12:0

to one Night for Self & hors 1: 6:0

to Dinner & oats for hors 0:12:0

to Dinner Payed for 0: 6:0

to Drink of Grog for my Self 0: 4:0

December the 1

Dr Stoningtown to Expences

2 to Dinner & bating hors Day 0:15:0

to one Night for self & hors 1: 6:0

3 to one Night for Self & hors 1: 7:0

to two Dinners 0:12:0

to two Days bating hors 0:14:0

4 to one Night for Self hoss 1: 8:0

to a Dinner bating hors Day 0:15:0

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12:14:0

To Expences on the Road to Pomfret	
to Brakfast	0: 6:0
to Dinner & bating hors	0:12
to Shewing hors on ye Road	2: 8:0
18 to One Night for Self & hors	1: 3:0
to dinner & bating hors	0:12:0
to Drink of Toddy	0: 3:0
Arthur Starkwather	60 bushel
Mr. Lam to	120 bushel
Mr Tyler to	30 bushel
John Kimbal to	20 bushel
Robert Starkwather	20 bushel
Joseph Starkwather	60 bushel pay for
Mr Cimbal oats	pay for
Mr Tyler oats	pay for
Left 29 bags left at Mr Starkwathers house 29	
Providence	
Desem ye 13 1778	
Benjamin Aplin (?) Dr to Cash	
Payed him for Board	3: 0:0
Janua 26 to Cash Lent	0:12:0
Febu 20 to Cash Lent	1:12:0
Glocster Novm ye 11 1778	
Eunited States to George Norton Dr	
Keep man & hors one Night & Dinner & oats	1:12:0
12 to Dinner & hors bating	0:12:0
Pomfret to keep Self & hors	1: 4:0
13 on Night to Dinner	0: 6:0
to bating hors a Day	0: 6:0
14 to keeping Self & hors one Night	1. 5.0
to bating hors a Day	0: 6:0
to Dinner & Drink Grog	0: 9:0
15 to on Night for Self & hors	1: 4:0
to Dinner & hors bating Day	0:12:0
to Drink of Grog	0: 3:0
16 to keeping for Self & hors on Night	1: 3:0
to Dinner & bating hors Day	0:12:0
17 to one Night for Self & hors	1: 4:0
This is settled for	
Mr Fobes Dr	
to hors to Exeter	3:18:0



to My Self Two Days	3: 0:0
to Keeping my Self two Days	2: 0:0
to Keeping hors Two Days	0:18:0
to one Night for hors Keeping	0:15:0

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10:11:0

Natha Norton Esqr Dr to Cash	2:12:0
Payed for Carting 5 bushel Rey	

January ye 1: 1779

The Eunited States Dr.

To keeping my hors 14 Days	4:18:0
to shewing hors	1: 0:0
to Shewing hors	1: 0:0
17 to bating hors Day	0: 9:0
18 to bating hors Day	0: 9:0
to one night for self & hors	1:14:0
to Two Dinners	1: 0:0
to bating hors Day	1: 9:0
19 to one Night for self & hors	1:12:0
to bating hors a Day	0: 9:0
to Dinner	0:10:0
20 to bating hors Day	0:10:0
to Dinner	0: 9:0
to one Night for Self & hors	1:12:0
to one Dinner	0:10:0

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11

to one Night self & hors	1: 4:0
to brakfast	0: 6:0
to Dinner & bating hors Day	0:14:0
to one Night for self & hors	1: 3:0
to Brakfast & Dinner	0:13:0
to Bating hors a Day	0: 8:0
to one Night for Self & hors	1: 6:0

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To Angelos 5:14:0

January ye 1: 1779

The Eunited States to George Norton Dr to keeping	
A Hors 14 Day	5:19:0
March 11, 1779 then Reed 17 Pound	

88:3 Shillings for wages of Benja Aplin(?)		
Reed of Benj Aplin for wages		29:18:0
		88: 3:0

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138: 1

192	24
24	8

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178 (?) 192

to Reed of George Norton	
fifteen Shillings for Keeping on Contentall Hors	
one Night	0:15:0
to on Night for Self & hors	1:12:0
to Dinner	0:10:0
to bating hors 1 Day	0: 9:0
to on Night for self & horse	1:12:0
to Dinner & hors bat i Day	0:19:0
to bating ye hors	0: 6:0

for Majr Kimballs & he will Show you Allens hay on  
Seth Ballous Farm. I desire you to press it for ye use  
of ye Continental

Coporal Harris Crd

Crd by Cash	0:10:0
Crd by Cash	0: 2:0
Crd by Cash	0: 3:0
Crd by Cash	0: 0:8
Crd by Cash	0: 3:0
Crd by Cash	0: 3:0
Crd by Cash	0: 3:0

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1:4:11

1: 6:10	1:5:3	1:5:3
1: 4: 0	1:4:0	1:4:11
1: 4:11		
	1:1:3	0:0:3

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1:15: 9

Janua ye 1:1779

The Eunited States Dr.	
to Keeping my hors 14 days	4:18:0
& to Shewing hors	1: 0:0
to Shewing hors	1: 0:0

17	to bating hors Day	0: 9:0
18	to bating hors Day	0: 9:0
	to one Night for self & horse	1:14:0
	to Two Dinners	1: 0:0
	to bating hors Day	1: 9:0
19	to one Night for self & hors	1:12:0
	to bating hors a Day	0: 9:0
	to Dinner	0:10:0
20	to bating hors Day	0:10:0
	to Dinner	0: 9:0
	to one Night for self & hors	1:12:0
	to one Dinner	0:10:0

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 11: 0:0

January 1th 1780

To Expencis for Traviling

To Supper Lodging &amp; Breakfast &amp; hors

Keeping on Night

4:10:0

to Passing Farry

0:18:0

Janu 20 to Dinner

0:10:0

to Bating hors

0:12:0

22 to Dinner &amp; Bat hors Day

2:10:0

John Harris, Dr Law

0: 1:0

January 3th 1780

To one Night for Self

to Super Loging

2: 8:0

to Keeping hors Night

2: 8:0

10 to Dinner Bat hors Day

3:10:0

20 to Dinner

2: 0:0

to bat hors Day

1:16:0

Providence January 15th 1780

This Day went to Board with Granger

Febu 9th 1780

To Brakfast Loging

2: 8:0

to Dinner bate hors

3:15:0

10 to Dinner Not hors

2: 2:0

11 to supper &amp; Log

5: 8:0

to Keep hors Noght

3:12:0

12 to Brakfast &amp; bat horse

4: 0:0

to Dinner

2: 0:0

Nathaniel Gold of Mendon

he has 20 Load of hay & it is 20 mil from Providence

Nemiah Praye Elias Pray 20 load in Smith

Et above Wilcot one mile

David Bouen 20 Load

Et Jonathan Harris 3 Load

David Harris 4 load Sand

Et Rufus Smith 3 Ld

To Bellinham Enquire to Widd Whipple Tavern from  
thence to Fisk Tavern & in Cumberland Israel Whittiers  
for the Hay

David Newell has hay near Whittier

	20
The account of the money That had for the watch	8
of North Richmond	70

4

3

2

1

4

Nov the 8 1779

3

2

Mr Ashdan Dr	4:4:0	Sheat	1
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70

to 2 Pond of Pork			60
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192		248
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138		33
-----	--	----

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54		Charge	281
----	--	--------	-----

102

38

24	64
----	----

6

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144

To Cash Payed Robert Starkwather for a Carting in  
Collecting oats for the Contenent

This Payed for 2:8:0

Bought 12 Bushels of Rey of Mr Lamb 14 Dollers 13 00  
 8 00  
 7 00

28 Dollars  
 Payed to Ipswich

310  
 Febuary 2th 1780

	to Dinner & bat hors	2: 3:0
	to Supper & loding	2: 2:0
	to keep hors a night	2: 8:0
3	to Brakfast bat hors	2: 8:0
	to bat hors Day	2: 0:0
	to Dinner	2:16:0
4	to Supper & lodging	2: 8:0
	to keep hors Night	3: 0:0
5	to Brakfast & Lodging	1:16:0
	to Keep hors Night	3: 0:0
	to Dinner & bat hors Day	3:12:0
6	To Sup lodging	2: 8:0
	to keep hors Night	3:10:0
	to Dinner bat hors Day	3:12:0
7	to Super loging	2: 6:0
	to keep hors Night	3: 0:0
8	to Super loging	2: 6:0
	to keep hors Night	3: 0:0
9	to Super Loging	2: 6:0
	to keep hors Night	3: 0:0

Take Sasafras Buds is good for a hors to make them thrive well

12:14:0

5:14:0

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18: 8:0

This is Capt Blissess Direction



LETTERS OF BENJAMIN STODDERT, FIRST  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, TO NICHOLAS  
JOHNSON OF NEWBURYPORT, 1798-1799.

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Among the vessels built in Newburyport during the period of the French attacks upon United States commerce, were the ship *Merrimack* and the brigantine *Warren*. President John Adams invited George Cabot to be the first Secretary of the Navy, but he declined, and Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813) of Maryland received the appointment in May, 1798. Stoddert was a successful merchant in Georgetown and was eminently fitted for the office. He was responsible for the purchase of land at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for the Navy Department.

Nicholas Johnson of Newburyport was selected as agent to superintend the Federal activities which a number of patriotic citizens had made possible by subscriptions to cover the cost of building the vessels. The following letters,<sup>1</sup> preserved in the Cushing collection at the Essex Institute, relate to the supplies for these vessels.

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Navy Department September 19, 1798.

Sir

I have received your favor of the 10th Instant. The Situation of Philadelphia and New York has retarded the providing the Arms which have been preparing for the Public; and I think it probable that I may not have it in my power to send you the pistols from thence. It will therefore be desirable that you should furnish this Article also. Perhaps you might procure them at Boston; please to inform me on this subject, and if you find it impracticable to furnish them, they must at all Events be sent to you.

As soon as the Officers are named by the Merchants they will receive their Appointments, and their Recruiting Instructions will follow the moment the Ship is in a state to receive her Crew, for I am desirous to have her brought into

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<sup>1</sup> There are also four Stoddert letters of this period in possession of the Newburyport Historical Society. These have been published by James J. Currier in "History of Newburyport," Vol. I, 1906, pp. 111-114; Vol. II, 1909, pp. 592-596.

Activity as soon as possible, and contemplate getting her to Sea before there will be danger of detention by the Ice. I request therefore that you will give me your Opinion as to the time when I may certainly rely on her being compleated.

I have the Honor to be Sir, Your most O<sup>bt</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

Ben Stoddert

Mr. Nicholas Johnson  
Newburyport

Navy Department, October 5, 1798.

Sir

As you will require Money to supply Capt<sup>n</sup> Brown<sup>2</sup> for recruiting his Crew, as well as for other purposes I have this day directed a Remittance of Five thousand Dollars to be forwarded to you, and shall prepare Recruiting Instructions to be sent Capt<sup>n</sup> Brown by the next Post.

I have the honor to be Sr. yr.  
most Obed<sup>t</sup> Sev<sup>t</sup>

Ben Stoddert.

Mr. Nicholas Johnson  
Newburyport

Navy Department 9th October, 1798.

Sir

Mr. David Stickney agreeable to the recommendation of the Merchants, is named to the President as Lt of Marines, to command the Marines on board the Merrimack—they are to consist of a Serjeant, Corporal, Music, & 21 Privates. The Major of Marines will give you a description of the Uniform—be pleased to have the Cloathing provided accordingly & del<sup>d</sup> to the Lt of Marines, whose rec<sup>t</sup> you will take—& transmit to the Acc<sup>t</sup> of this Department.

The Regulations of Congress, permit slops<sup>3</sup> to be provided for the Sailors—they are to be delivered over to the Purser, and he sells them at the price fixed on, to the Sailors, to be deducted out of their pay. This is meant as a humane regulation, to preserve the sailors from suffering, & to prevent imposition on the part of the Purser.

Please therefore have provided, to be delivered over to the Purser, such a number of each of the following articles, not exceeding the number of sailors to compose the crew of the Merrimack, & excluding the Marines, as you shall on consultation with the Captain and Purser, judge necessary for

<sup>2</sup> Capt. Moses Brown.

<sup>3</sup> Clothing, bedding, etc.

six months—shirts; frocks; outer jackets, under jackets; flannel drawers, shoes; wool hats; blankets; mattresses—a few of them I suppose will answer.

These articles should be delivered to the Purser, with an Invoice of the Prices—they should be bought by wholesale, & 10 pCent should be added to the prices in the Invoice delivered to the Purser, to make up for losses. It not being intended that the United States is to loose any thing by this provision—nor that they should gain at the expense of the sailors. You will furnish a duplicate of the Invoice given to the Purser, to W<sup>m</sup> Winder Accountant of the Navy Department, that he may make his charge against the Purser.

In addition to these articles, you will please to provide 15 Watch coats—to be delivered also to the Purser—but to be supplied to the sailors in cold weather, on watch, at the discretion of the Captain.

I have the honor to be Sir Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed Serv.

Ben Stoddert.

Nichs. Johnson Esq<sup>re</sup>

NewburyPort.

The whole Number, for which slops are to be provided is 121. The following articles compose a sail of Marine Cloathing—1 woollen hat; 1 coat; 1 vest; 2 pr woollen overalls; 2 pr linen d<sup>o</sup>; 4 shirts; 4 pr shoes; 4 pr socks; 1 stock & clasp; 1 blanket.

Marine Camp October 11, 1798.  
near Philadelphia.

Sir

The Secretary of the Navy has appointed David Stickney of Newbury Port a first Lieutenant in the Marine Corps which I have the honor to command. Be pleased to let him have the enclosed letter.

I have herewith forwarded you a description of the Uniform which is to be made under your Orders; if the Men are easily obtained, it will be best to have them measured, if not, it will be best to have them made most agreeable to the size of the Men in general in that Country. Let the Collar be made high, as it guards against the wet and cold.

I have the Honor to be y<sup>r</sup> obd<sup>t</sup> Sev<sup>t</sup>

W. W. Barrows

Major Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Navy Department,  
Octob. 13th 1798.

Sir

It is of the utmost importance to the proper administration of the Navy Department that the person at the head of it should be constantly possessed of the fullest information of the transactions of those Gentlemen who act as Agents. Certain sums are appropriated by Congress for certain purposes; the Secretary of the Navy having no power to exceed for any article, however essential the appropriation for that article, can never judge without the fullest information from the Agents when he is within, & when exceeding the bounds of his Authority.

I have therefore the honor to request that you will be pleased to make up your Accounts to the 30th Day of the present Month, & transmit them with the Vouchers, without delay to the Accountant of the Navy Department, for settlement, and that you will commence the Accounts from that time, & keep them in the manner which the Accountant in the interim will point out to you, and particularly, that you will transmit to him, weekly returns of your future transactions, agreeably to the form which he shall prescribe.

This will be giving you a little more trouble at first, but when you consider the object to be obtained by it, indeed how essential it is, you will not regard the trouble.

I have the honor to be with great respect & esteem your most most obt. Servt.

Ben Stoddert.

Cap. Nicholas Johnson,  
Newbury Port.

Navy Department

Circular.

Accountant Office, October 24th 1798.

Sir

The Secretary of the Navy having found it necessary that the several Navy Agents should render weekly accounts of their transactions, has instructed me to transmit to you a form, prescribing the mode in which those weekly accounts should be rendered.

The system prescribed to and adopted in this Office for arranging the expenditures in the department, requires that the expence of each vessel should be kept distinct, and also that the several articles of expence, should be kept distinct

as they fall under one or the other of the following heads, to Wit.—

Hire of Tradesmen, Labourers	Hospital Stores.
&c.	Slop Clothing.
Materials for building &c	Marine Clothing.
Ship Stores.	Recruiting Expences.
Provisions.	Pay of the Navy.
Ordnance and Military Stores.	

It will therefore be necessary in all transactions in the Navy Department to keep those distinctions in view, and to state the Accounts conformably thereto . . . The enclosed forms for weekly statements are framed on the principles of this System, conformably to which you will render the weekly accounts that the Secretary of the Navy has requested you to transmit.

No. 1 is the form in which you will render your first summary statement to commence on the first day of November next; at which time it will be necessary that you ascertain what money advances by you on Account (if any) remains unsettled, and also the sum that remains in your hands unapplied. This Statement may close on the first Saturday in November, or if more convenient, that being but the fraction of a Week, may extend to the second Saturday when it must close, and the balances be transfered to No. 2, which is the form in which all your succeeding weekly statements will be made.

The several heads of Expenditure that your statement comprehends, must be accompanied by abstracts corresponding therewith in their amount, and in their detail by the vouchers by which they must be supported.

With a view to explain the particular objects of the several heads of expenditure before enumerated, it may be useful to make some remarks thereon, and to enumerate certain articles that some of the heads, (particularly the three first, which it is conceived stand most in need of illustration), are intended to embrace.

*Hire of Tradesmen Labourers &c<sup>d</sup>.* Will comprehend the hire of all Workmen & labourers, and the provision or liquors that may be allowed them in addition to their wages, also the hire of Wagons, carts, drays, shallops, sighters, stages or other machines or utensils, freight, rent of houses, wharves &c<sup>a</sup> employed, used or occupied for the purpose of building, rigging, equipping, repairing, watering or balasting a vessel: but will not include the wages of any of the vessels Crew, as that belongs properly to the head of Pay of the Navy; nor



will this head comprehend Blacksmiths, Blockmakers, Mast Makers, Plumbers and other bills, where the tradesmen find materials, as the articles they produce will come more properly under the next head as wrought materials.

*Materials &c<sup>d</sup>* will comprehend all materials whether raw or wrought, expended in building, equipping, rigging or repairing a Vessel, as timber, pitch, tar, copper, paints, cables, anchors, spars, boats, cordage, canvas &c<sup>d</sup>, also Blacksmith's, blockmakers, sailmakers, Plumbers, and other bills, where the raw material and workmanship are blended to produce an implement or article expended in the building, &c<sup>a</sup> as before mentioned. But as more articles of this description will be purchased and charged to a vessel, than will be immediately expended in the building, equipping and rigging of it, such as spare canvas, cordage, blocks, hooks, nails, bolts &c<sup>d</sup>, those as far as it is practicable should be distinguished from the expended and omitting them under this head, comprehend them under the next.

*Ship Stores.* The objects of this head are all materials, utensils, tools or articles of value charged to a vessel, and not finally applied or expended; and ought therefore to be hereafter accounted for by the proper officers, either as expended or on hand, such as iron, balast, water casks, tubs, pails, pots, kettles, cabin furniture & utensils, maps, flags, compasses, telescopes &c<sup>a</sup> and all stores, tools &c<sup>a</sup> for the vessel whatever officer is to have the charge except provisions, clothing, gunners stores, and surgeons stores, which belong to other heads.

*Provisions.* Will comprehend all articles of provision & liquors, except those provided for the sick and delivered to the surgeon, and if the Secretary of the Navy should direct the Agents to settle with any officers for undrawn Rations, the money will be charged under this head as subsistence.

*Ordnance and Military Stores.* Will comprehend cannon with their appurtenances, small arms, amunition and all other Military or warlike stores, and all the stores committed to the charge of the Gunner.

*Hospital Stores.* Will comprehend Surgeons Instruments, Medicines, and Stores of all sorts committed to the charge of the Surgeon, and all expences of the sick that maybe allowed.

*Recruiting Expences.* If the Agents should be instructed by the Secretary of the Navy to settle the accounts of any Recruiting Officer, the expenditures allowed (except advances of pay) will be charged under this head . . . The

remaining heads of Slop-clothing, Clothing for Marines, and pay of the Navy, it is presumed, require no explanation.

As the service may at times render it necessary to advance money before the supplies are received or at least before the Accounts therefor is fully adjusted and settled; and although advances of this kind are not to be stated in your Account as expenditures, but as they are settled and vouchers obtained, yet as they will affect the balance of your cash account, two Columns are introduced into the inclosed forms, to exhibit the progress of this business, and show what part of the sums advanced on account remains unsettled at the end of each week, and thereby afford the means of regularly ascertaining the balance of public money that may be actually in your hands, or that you may be in advance for the public at the end of each week. This is the use of the two first Columns, and it is immaterial whether the sums in the second Column are placed opposite the respective heads for which they were expended as in the form No. 1., or collectively opposite the advances on Account as in No. 2, for there is no connection between this and the expenditure Column, which will contain the services and supplies settled and paid for within the week, and whether the payment was made at the Instant or had been previously made as an advance, will make no difference as to the expenditure Column, to which alone the abstracts and Vouchers before mentioned will apply. The last Column will exhibit the receipts, Expenditures, advances, and balances of Cash for each week.

The enclosed Statements suppose a balance of public money actually in the hands of the Agent; but it may sometimes happen that an Agent will be in advance for the public, in this case the balance will change sides, but as it is conceived the Agent will be at no loss in varying his statement conformably thereto, neither of the forms exhibit an example of the Case.

I am Sir

Your obedt. Servant,

William Winder.

Account<sup>t</sup> of the Navy.

Nicholas Johnson Esqr.  
Newbury Port.

Navy deptm<sup>t</sup>.

July 11th 1799.

Sir

Herewith inclosed you will receive Lists of the Military Stores, Provisions, Cabin Furniture, Medicines & Instru-

ments and Hospital Stores, to be provided for the Ship Warren . . . The articles marked in the margin of the estimate of Military Stores are ordered to be sent from hence & New York, the residue I presume you can procure. If however there are any which you cannot, be so good as to inform me as early as may be, and I will take care to supply the deficiency.

The dimensions of the Guns are also enclosed by which you will have the Carriages made.

I am Sir, yr. mo. ob. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

Ben Stoddert.

N. Johnson esqr.)	Fifty tons of Kentledge for
)	Ballast are also ordered
Newbury Port )	from hence.

Navy departm<sup>t</sup>.

July 13th 1799.

Sir

A Camboose<sup>4</sup> of the largest dimensions of those contracted to be furnished by you, is immediately wanted for the Frigate L'Insurgent at Norfolk. You will therefore please ship one of sufficient size to cook for 300 men, if you have such a sized one finished, if not, one of the next size, say for 250 men. And as the utmost dispatch is necessary, if an immediate and direct opportunity to Norfolk does not offer, send it to Mess. Stephen Higginson & Co. Boston, who will forward it without delay.

I have the honor to be Sir yr. obdt. sev.

Ben Stoddert.

Nichl. Johnson Esqr.

In case the Frigate has saild to be deliver'd to W<sup>m</sup> Pinnock esqr., otherwise on board.

Navy department.

June 24th 1799.

Sir

I am informed by M<sup>r</sup> Hubbard that the Camboose you sent him agreeably to my order of the 29th of April is too large for the ship Connecticut. You will please therefore send him another to New London as soon as possible, and of the following dimensions as near as may be, viz. 4 feet long, 3 ft. 4 inches wide, 3 ft. 9 inches high.

I am Sir

yr. mo. ob. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

Ben Stoddert.

<sup>4</sup> A caboose or stove.

Note: It appears that the distance between the topsail sheet bitts and the Cable bitts where the Camboose must stand is 3 ft. 4 inches *only*, consequently it must not exceed that width.

Nicholas Johnson, esqr. Newbury Port.

Boston, July 27, 1799.

Capt. Nicholas Johnson.

Sir

There is a quantity of Hemp here at Beverly & Portsmouth which Mr. Sheaffe bought more than will be wanted for the Congress, which the Secretary of the Navy wishes to have us apply to the use of the Ships in this quarter which may want. If you have not got all you will want for the Warren, you may send us a mem<sup>o</sup>. of the sizes & quantity wanted & we will give orders to have it made agreeable to your directions & sent round to you. The Secretary mentioned to us you having some Iron Hearths to be sent to us to forward to Norfolk in case you had no direct opp<sup>y</sup> from Newbury; but as you have said nothing to us about them we suppose you have sent them direct.

We are Sir your hum. ser.

Stephen Higginson & Co.

Navy Department,

20 September 1799.

Sir

You will be pleased to furnish me with such information respecting the ships Merrimack & Warren, as will enable me to have a complete Register made of them.

The Length of the gun Deck, length of keel, breadth of beam, depth of hold, height between gun & lower deck, height between upper & quarter deck, height of waist amidship, tonage, & exact number of each description of guns, are points on which I wish to be particularly informed; but the tonage & number of guns, are the most material.

I have the honor to be Sir,

your most obed. servant,

Ben. Stoddert.

Nicholas Johnson Esquire.

Newburyport.

Navy Department  
Trenton October 4, 1799.

Sir

I am honor'd with your Letter of the 20th Inst., and learn with pleasure the progress you make in completing the Warren.

In furnishing our Ships of War with provisions care should be taken to have them good of every kind—The Bread should be of a quality equal to the very best furnished by the Merchants to their Ships, and with this the Sailors ought to be contented, it is at least equal to what they have been accustomed to eat. You will therefore be pleased to supply the Warren with Bread of this quality and no others.

I am Sir, your mo. ob. ser<sup>t</sup>.

Ben Stoddert.

Nicholas Johnson Esqr.

P.S. I am thus particular in respect to the quality of the Bread, because it has been customary in some of the Ports to the Eastward to furnish Bread made of fine flour, which is certainly wrong.

Navy Department  
10th October 1799.

Sir

In order to secure to the seamen an opportunity to purchase necessary clothing, without subjecting them to impositions by the pursers, congress have directed that they shall, upon their request, be furnished with slops, the price of which shall be deducted from their pay. You will, therefore, be pleased to furnish the purser of the Warren with slops of the following discription; Shirts, Frocks, outer-jackets, underjackets, flannel drawers, Linnen or woolen overalls, shoes, wool hats, blankets and Mattresses, a few of the latter, I presume, will be sufficient; not exceeding, in the whole, one of each of these articles at a time, for every man on board, marines excepted.

You will, in consultation with the Captain and purser, determine on the quantity of slops necessary for the above supply, purchase them, if practicable, at wholesale, and deliver them over to the purser with an invoice, with the prices annexed, to which you will add ten per cent, in order that, as this arrangement is merely to accommodate the sailors, and no profit contemplated, the United States may be secured from losses. The original cost, with this addition of



ten per cent, is the price at which these articles are to be delivered to the sailors.

You will forward a duplicate of the Invoice delivered to the purser, to the Accountant of this Department, that he may make the proper charges against him.

In addition to these articles you will be pleased to furnish the purser with 10 watch coats, to be given out to the sailors and marines on watch in cold weather, at the discretion of the Captain.

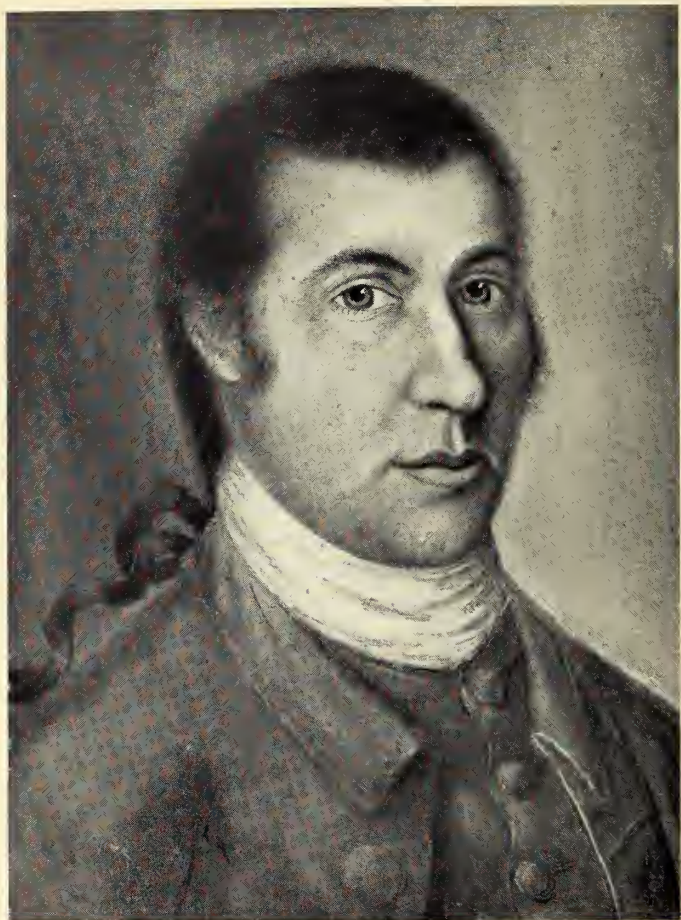
Other articles which may be wanted on board, by the sailors, may be supplied by the purser himself, at his own risque, and for his own emolument. The United States only provide *necessaries*.

I have the honor to be Sir, your most Ob. & H. St.

Ben Stoddert.

Nicholas Johnson, Esqr.





SAMUEL McINTIRE  
1757 - 1811

From a pastel in possession of the Essex Institute

## PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL McINTIRE.

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RECENTLY BEQUEATHED TO THE ESSEX INSTITUTE BY  
GEORGE W. LOW OF LOWELL, GREAT-GRANDSON OF  
THE FAMOUS SALEM ARCHITECT.

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In a most informative article, entitled, "Samuel McIntire—A Sketch," contributed by Ambrose Walker to the Essex Institute Historical Collections in 1932, the author states: "As there is no known portrait of McIntire, I am quoting at considerable length contemporaneous pen pictures of the man, hoping that these will serve to bring him more clearly before you." This he proceeded to do with great success, and up to the present time the world of architecture has had to content itself with just that.

However, it now develops that there *was* a portrait, and the Essex Institute has been fortunate in securing it by bequest of George W. Low, great-grandson of Samuel McIntire, who died in Lowell last March at the age of seventy-eight years.

The portrait is a pastel, probably by Benjamin Blyth, as shown in the accompanying illustration. The coat is blue, the queue is tied with a black ribbon, the complexion is rather florid, and the eyes are blue. It suggests a man of about thirty years of age; it has all the earmarks of the artist Blyth, and was doubtless painted just after the Revolution.

Samuel McIntire was born in Salem, January 16, 1757, the son of Joseph and Sarah (Ruck) McIntire. He married, October 31, 1778, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla (Ingalls) Field, who died in Salem, November 3, 1797.

Among their children was Samuel Field McIntire, baptised in November, 1781, who married Hannah Hammonds on January 15, 1804, and succeeded to the father's business at his death in 1811. Hannah was born June 12, 1780, and died January 4, 1862. Samuel Field McIntire died September 27, 1819. All were buried in the Charter Street Cemetery.

Samuel Field McIntire had a daughter Sarah Field, who was born in Salem, May 26, 1804, and married Eliphalet Page in Salem on February 24, 1828. He was born in Lebanon, N. H., April 26, 1807, the son of Abraham and Hannah (Richardson) Page. They later settled in Canaan, N. H. Eliphalet and Sarah F. (McIntire) Page were the parents of Mary Page, who married George W. Low, through whose bequest the Essex Institute now has the portrait in its possession.

Accompanying the pastel is the following information from the Lowell Social Service League:

"From the estate of George W. Low, great-grandson of Samuel McIntire of Salem, Mass. George Low died in March, 1938, in Lowell, Mass. He was 78 years of age. His parents were Mary Page and George W. Low. His mother came from Salem. Her aunt was Mary E. D. Jackson (wife of William B. Jackson, a Saddle-Tree Manufacturer in Hamilton, Mass) who died, Nov. 29, 1888.

"Mrs. Jackson, through her will, left Mrs. Low hand-carved furniture from the McIntire family, which George Low, the son, sold during his father's illness, when funds were nearly depleted.

"This picture was the only prized possession of George W. Low at the time of his death. He requested that it be turned over to the Essex Museum for the McIntire collection."

Two interesting letters also came with the portrait, both written in 1819, by Sarah F. McIntire, while she, a homesick girl, was attending Hampton Academy, and addressed to her friend, Miss Preserved Bullock of Salem.

Hampton, Sept. 11th, 1819.

Amiable Friend:

When I take a retrospective view of the past summer, the many happy hours I have spent in cheerful conversation with you recur to my mind as some of my happiest moments, and I regret that they are past, never to return. Do not, however, fancy that I am not contented, for I assure you that I feel very well contented. I am situated in a beautiful family. The lady with whom I board is very affectionate and treats me like a child. I should be much pleased



if you would come here to school this winter. You would be delighted with the Preceptor, he is such a beautiful man, he pays very great attention to the morals of his pupils, they must all go to meeting Sabbath days and all the evening lectures if they can. I assure you that nothing would be more pleasant than to see or hear from you. Dear Preserved, if you come to Newburyport do come and see me, it is only eleven miles from N. Port to Hampton, Mr. Webster the minister here is a fine man, I took tea with him last wednesday. Mr. holt, a Minister from Epping is to preach for us tomorrow. I was introduced to him yesterday, he appears to be a fine man.

I have enjoyed my health remarkably well since I have been here. I want to know how your health is. Remember me to all my friends, do write me a letter soon. When Rebecca is married send me a piece of cake. do burn this letter, I am ashamed to send it. From your affectionate friend

Sarah F. McIntire.

Hampton, N. Hampshire.

The following letter was written the day before her father died in Salem :

Hampton, September 26th, 1819.

Amiable Friend

. . . When I think how swiftly the moments have glided away, and the little improvement I have made of my time and the advantages I have had, I regret that they are past, and that the moment once lost is lost forever. We may say with certainty "that life is long which answers life great end" . . . I should be very much pleased to have you come here to the Academy. I think you would be much pleased, the Preceptor is a very fine man and endeavors to inculcate the knowledge of the only true God into the minds of his scholars. The Preceptress is a fine woman and exemplary in her conduct, in school and out. There is but one thing to be praised before education and that is religion. without which we cannot be happy in this world, nor expect immortal felicity in the world to come. I have enjoyed my health better here than I have all summer at home, the air is very salubrious and we have the sea breeze which makes the town very healthy. The town is pleasant, thickly settled, here are English and W India goods stores. A Calvinist meeting house and Free Will Baptists. they are a droll set of people,

they laugh and sing and dance in their meetings and make a very great noise. I attend Mr. Webster's meeting, he is truly a pious man. The Rev. Dr. Dana of Newburyport preached here on the 12th of the month, he with his sister Miss Emery took tea here in the afternoon, I was much pleased with him, he gave me a polite invitation to go to Newburyport and I do not know but I shall accept it. The weather has been unpleasant ever since the 13th of the month, high winds and rain. . . . I observed in the paper that there had been a fire at Danvers, consumed two barns, also that the lightning struck on Mr. Treadwell's wood wharf. The studies I pursue are Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography, Polite Literature, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Composition, Latin, and twice a week receive lectures on Astronomy. This is a very pleasant study. In the morning I rise early, breakfast at 7 o'clock, go to school at 8 or little after, home at 1, dine half past 1, school again at 2, home at 6, supper half past six, study in the evening & I want to know if you do not think my time very well taken up. Tuesday and Friday evening I attend meeting, Sabbath all the scholars must unless sick. I hope you will stay with my dear Mama as long as you are in town. I want to know in particular about her health. I shall depend on a letter soon, give my love to all that enquires after me. I have written every little particular which I hope you will excuse, show this letter to no person except Mama. That you may enjoy the blessing of health and all other earthly blessings is the sincere affectionate wish of your

Young friend

Sarah F. McIntire.

The pastel of Samuel McIntire is now on exhibition in the Essex Institute portrait gallery.

## NOTES ON OLD TIMES IN SALEM.

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### REMINISCENCES OF THE OLD ASSEMBLIES, MASTER TURNER'S DANCING SCHOOL, AND GEORGE WASHINGTON'S SALEM VISIT.

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[It was Mr. Francis H. Lee's custom during the seventies and eighties, and perhaps later, to solicit reminiscences from the older people, especially from those who had removed from Salem, in an attempt to gather the history of old times in Salem. Some of these accounts were written anonymously, or at least there is no clue as to who the authors were. Several of the articles are signed "P," referring perhaps to Mrs. Peabody, whose name appears on one of the envelopes. These notes are among the Lee manuscripts in the Essex Institute.]

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The first of the old Assemblies I ever attended was in 1823. They were in Hamilton Hall, and under the management of old gentlemen—at least they seemed old to me. Early hours were the rule in those days, for dancing commenced at six and finished precisely at twelve. If we were in the midst of a dance and the clock struck twelve the signal was given and the music ceased. The ball was over. The first two contra dances were drawn dances always, and ladies and gentlemen answered to their numbers and stood opposite their chance partners. Other dances were Quadrille and Virginia Reel. Polka and Waltzing were unknown then. At ten o'clock there was a supper and all adjourned to the supper room upstairs, where were the long tables with wooden benches all around, which the ladies as well as the gentlemen climbed over.

The supper consisted of various kinds of poultry, roast turkey, ducks and chickens, hot and cold, tongues and ham, pies and tarts and cake, wine, no coffee nor oysters until several years later. Ice cream was a rarity then. There were six assemblies during the season, the last one took place in March. So it was about sunset when the dancing began, for everyone was punctual to the hour.

Mr. Turner taught dancing in Boston and Salem nearly forty years. He was well patronized. His residence was in Boston, but he taught in Salem also, on Monday and Wednesday during the summer. His colored fiddler, who grew old in his service, always drove him down from Boston. "Black Harry" we called him. He often slept while playing the old tunes. The style of dancing then was very different from the modern. To jump high, cross the feet, and avoid sliding was constantly enforced. The dancing included the minuet. Hornpipe and jig for the boys alone. There was always a public exhibition and ball at the end of the season. After the dancing by the pupils, the old folks took the floor, much to the amusement of the younger, who thought their grandfathers and grandmothers were poor dancers.

Another person writes of Master Turner's School as follows:

I went to Master Turner's Dancing School one season and six weeks of the second season. At the Ball given at the end of the season we danced the "Enterprise and Boxer." The boys had blue ribbons with Free Trade and Salem Rights on their hats. The English was the Boxer and the American brig the Enterprise. She was taken off Portland, September 15th, 1813.

We boxter up to Portland  
And moored her off the town,  
To show the Sons of Liberty  
The Boxer of renown.

So the boys and young ladies fought the battle over again. The boys were drawn up on one side, the young ladies the opposite side, and when the order was given to board we moved forward and when we got among the girls we dropped fine bird-shot on the hard pine floor and as the girls sashaed they went on their beam ends quick, none killed or wounded. As this battle ended we took them up to the supper table and a jolly good laugh we had. All the boys and girls were up in sets for a wind-up dance. It fell to my lot to have a lady partner nearly five feet

six inches and rather homely. I was determined not to dance if I could not have a better looking partner. After the sets were all up, old Turner was 'round hollering, "Where is Master W.?" I was peeping into the ball room behind the door. He had to get a young lady as partner to her. I like a handsome ship, a handsome woman, or a handsome yacht, but deliver me from a Quaker woman.

About one hundred years ago my grandfather, Joshua Ward, built the large brick house on Washington Street. In 1789, when Gen. Washington made his visit to the Eastern States, he, with his suite, was invited to stay at this house. My mother was a little child, and she has told me of the crowd of people that were coming and going constantly, anxious to look upon the great man. Washington took her in his arms, jumping her to the wall and sitting her on his knee. His room at night was over the northeastern chamber on the second story. Many years after and many years ago the writer of this was born in the same room.

The house was visited for months afterward by people from other towns, anxious to see the place, kissing the door latch as they entered and the curtains of the bed where the good man rested. The street afterwards took the name of Washington Street.

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#### AN ACCOUNT OF MASTER CHEEVER'S SCHOOL, BY ONE OF HIS SCHOLARS.

About the year 1826, the present yard of the North Church on Essex Street was covered with various small buildings. Among them was Charles F. Putnam's grocery store, a two-story wooden building. In the second story of the building, Ira Cheever, who then resided in Chestnut Street, kept a private school for boys. He had been the teacher of the public school in South Salem. His private school had about thirty scholars, boys of all ages. He taught the various English branches, the larger boys, I remember, studying bookkeeping and making elaborately ornamented sets of books. Mr. Cheever was admirably adapted for teaching young children. He had a



pretty accurate though limited English education, a genius for details, which made him a quiddle, and an untiring interest in his business. Some of the details of his methods of instruction were peculiar. No boy, little or great, was in this school many weeks without being compelled to master the multiplication table, and this in a very simple way.

At each session of the school, at some convenient time, the master stood up before the school, with a stick in his hand to beat time, and repeated the multiplication table, beginning "twice two are four," and ending with "twelve times twelve." The whole school were expected to join him. The new boy who was not perfect in his multiplication table, was thus obliged to learn and couldn't help knowing it in a short time. And so constant was the iteration that he could not forget it. The master kept order in his school in a rather peculiar manner and I suspect, in looking back at it, a rather imperfect fashion. To call our attention, sometimes he would blow a whistle, sometimes ring a little bell; he also had a placard on the wall over his desk on which were inscribed the words, "Heads, Hands, Feet," and many others which I now forget, and when we heard his whistle or bell, or a knock on his desk with the rod, we would look up and find him pointing with a long rod to this placard, taking this method of telling the boys that they were making perhaps too much noise with their feet or hands, etc.

When the boys grew too noisy, and always before dismissing the school, he went through with a military exercise. His signal was the snap of a pen-knife, and it was conducted in this fashion. In the middle of the front of each desk was driven a small brass nail, and when the school was called to order, each boy's nose was to be pointed at this brass nail. Nothing further could be done till the room was so still that the snap of a knife could be heard. When the first snap was heard, it meant that each boy was in the middle of his desk and perfectly still, then he snapped again, the boys all rose and stood still, then he snapped again, they all stepped out into the aisles, another snap and the row of boys next the door walked out,

and so on until each room had gone. He was very proud of this little parade and used to show it to the parents on Exhibition day.

He was untiring in teaching small matters, careful to correct all inaccuracies in speech, so much so that he kept a list of them, and in the weekly report which every boy carried home, would be found endorsed any of these inaccuracies which the boy had committed. This intense capacity for detail he carried into all his teaching, and it made him the best teacher for small children that I have ever known. In school he generally laid aside his coat and put on a black and yellow calico gown, and on one occasion I remember he threw his gown over his shoulders and danced up and down on the platform before his desk. When the boys looked up rather astonished, he said to them, "I find it so very difficult to attract your attention that I took this way to do it; I had something to say to you." I am afraid he was not a very good disciplinarian, for I remember he had recourse to curious punishments. One was being obliged to sit upon nothing, that is, the boy must sit with his back to the wall with nothing under him. This was, of course, of short duration. Another was to stay after school and walk home with the master. To this we did not much object, and often a small and not very well behaved procession would be seen marching through Cambridge Street, the boys conducting as though they were not being severely punished. When we reached his steps, he made us a short exhortation to good behaviour, bade us good-bye and we ran off, I am afraid not much edified. He had a similar reward for good boys which was more fearful than this punishment. A good boy was occasionally invited to pass quite a dreary afternoon at the Master's house. As I recollect these occasions, they were far more desolate than any funeral. Master Cheever and his household were pinks of propriety, and it seems to me now wonderful that the boys did not always play truant from those prim half holidays.

One exercise in the school ought to be preserved. It was the pen-making class. In those days everybody wrote with goose-quill pens. Every pen had to be made and mended many times. This required a sharp knife always

ready, and if the master had to make and mend all the pens for thirty boys his time would be well occupied. Master Cheever solved this difficulty by his genius for nicety in details. Every boy beyond a certain age was required to bring a pen-knife to school. These were kept by the master in his desk, or they would have been dulled forthwith. Then the class in pen-mending stood before the master's desk, knives and quills were distributed, and by a series of ingenious motions the boys were all taught to make pens together. At the age of nine I could make a quill-pen a great deal better than I can now. This was a real practical thing. Making pens was required in every household and every place of business, and Master Cheever's boys never had any difficulty in doing that important thing.

Ever since I went to his school I have been convinced that teachers of small children should have a genius for details, and that without this the scholars will suffer. Master Cheever's niceties seem ridiculous, but they were very useful. If you could have heard him labor to make a boy give the true sound of the letter E in the word mercy, you would have thought he was a quiddle, and he was, but he was a practically useful quiddle, whose scholars have felt the advantage of his small carefulness for half a century.

Many years afterwards he gave up school teaching and was a Notary Public in Boston. And the last time I had speech with him was many years ago, when going into Court one morning I found my old teacher foreman of the jury, to whom I was about to open a case. In the intermission I asked him if he thought I continued to read pretty well, and he admitted that I did. The modern school teacher would look down on Master Cheever's method and acquirements, but he had this great advantage over the average modern school teacher, he was not one of a hundred turned out of a mill with little regard to natural capacity, but he was fitted for his occupation by his nature, his taste, and he arduously followed it with his whole heart. He was the best teacher I have ever known, and I am very glad to have this opportunity to recall his many excellencies.

SOME RAMBLING REMINISCENCES OF OLD SALEM LIFE  
IN 1825.

A goodly company of pretty young girls had just graduated from Mr. Cole's excellent school. How thoroughly we were taught there! How proud we were of our one Greek scholar! How bitter cold it used to be as we fought our way round the corner of the old church to reach school! Now these days were over—we were young ladies. Parties were very different from the present day. Except on very great occasions there was no set supper. After the guests assembled, waiters would come in and dodge in and out among the company with trays of empty plates, and you were expected to take one in anticipation of something to put upon it. Blanc-mange and jelly would soon appear, served in the same manner. Then a big tray with wine and lemonade all poured out—ices unheard of—but oranges and nuts and raisins came next.

One good lady had to put some finishing touches to the supper, and slipped out. On returning, she quite forgot the checked apron she had put on to preserve her company apparel!

Our dances at Hamilton Hall were often enlivened by the arrival of a Boston beau or two. Gentlemen were very scarce. But my mother would tell that in her day they talked of *the hack*, *the paved street*, and *the beau*. It was not so bad as this, but one young man would lead out his two sisters in a country dance, and it was the only turn they got. One pretty wallflower said when supper was announced, "What shall I do, mama?" "Catch hold of your father's other arm, my dear!"

On the streets gentlemen wore hats made of real beaver with long fur, and often a cocked hat. Cloaks were often of camlet lined with scarlet, or short cloth cloaks with red velvet collars. Spencers were also worn. Galoshes, a stout leather overshoe, were worn, and with small clothes a high leather boot with a band of yellow leather at the top four or five inches wide.

Coats of bright colors, and vests in summer of marseilles with gay sprigs, and of kerseymere with lappels, and buttoned over the ruffled shirt on old persons. This



ruffle was of the most delicate cambric, with two or three little tucks at the edge and carefully plaited. Coats were lined with white satin for full dress. Vests of satin with gold embroidery, a chapeau bras, and a sword for full dress.

When small clothes went out, young men wore at parties very tight trousers tied in a bow at the ankles, gay silk stockings, sprigged and clocked, and very low shoes.

Letter writing in those days was a long and laborious task. There must be no haste, for your precious document would cost twenty-five cents by mail. I have now long epistles from my elders which are really moral essays, and from young friends, full of minute details such as we have no time for now, for the square sheet of paper, and sometimes even foolscap, must be covered on three pages, and even on the flaps inside.

Private delivery was hailed, and travelers were loaded with letters to be delivered on their arrival, to save postage. Wafers were much used as seals, but a seal ring was on the finger, and a coat-of-arms on the watch chain for wax, and various sticks of colored wax were in the desk, and sentimental mottoes, such as "Though lost to sight to memory dear." It was not a simple matter to seal your letter with nicety, and many were the blots and scorplings. What should we have said, could we have foreseen that in fifty years we could actually talk to our distant friends!

Gas was quite unknown. Such a care to fill the lamps, which almost always went out, and smoked. Wax candles for great occasions.

And so bitter cold. No furnaces. Rushing from room to room, and cowering over the big wood fires.

The dining table always laid in the sitting-room and a plate warmer brought in. And pudding served before the meat in those days. A big boiled Indian pudding on Sunday before the joint. And those who ate the most pudding should have the most meat, it was said.

How all is changed! Our houses warmed by an invisible apparatus, and our rooms lighted by turning a screw.—P.







HANNAH (JORDAN) CALEF, WIFE OF JOSEPH CALEF  
1693 - 1772

From the original by Copley in the Caroline M. Amory Collection

## ROBERT CALEF AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY ANNE CALEF BOARDMAN.

*(Continued from Volume LXXIV, page 276)*

**12** MARY (Joseph, Robert) of Haverhill, Mass. (northern part now Plaistow, N. H.), b. 12 June 1708, Ipswich, Mass.; d. 8 Oct. 1795, Haverhill; m. 18 Jan. 1734, Ipswich, Nicholas White (2nd wife), b. 4 Dec. 1698, Haverhill; d. 2 Oct. 1782, Haverhill; son of John and Lydia (Gilman) White.

Children, born at Haverhill:

- i JOSEPH, b. 14 Dec. 1734; m. Sarah Noyes; 5 chn.
- ii MARY, b. 16 Aug. 1736.
- iii LYDIA, b. 2 July 1738; m. 9 Dec. 1762, Benjamin Hale; 8 chn.
- iv WILLIAM, b. 19 March 1740; d. 27 Jan. 1775; m. 14 Aug. 1764, Mary Bagley; 3 chn.
- v JOHN, b. 21 March 1742; d. 29 Oct. 1808; m. Elizabeth Kimball; 2 chn.
- vi SAMUEL, b. 17 Aug. 1744; d. 10 June 1745.
- vii ELIZABETH, b. 31 May 1746; m. Timothy Ayer, Haverhill; 2 chn.
- viii MARTHA, b. 9 Aug. 1748; d. 11 June 1816; m. Deacon Joseph Dodge, Haverhill; no chn.
- ix SAMUEL, b. 6 Nov. 1750.
- x ABIGAIL, b. 14 May 1757; m. James Davis, Haverhill; 2 dau.

This Mary was the baby born six months after her father Joseph Calef's death. She received a legacy by the will of her stepfather, Capt. Thomas Choate, who seems to have treated his wife's children as his own. Her husband was descended from William White, who landed at Ipswich in 1635. He was deacon of the Haverhill church, and was called "Captain." Their stones are in the Plaistow church yard.

**13** ELIZABETH (Robert, Robert), of Boston, Mass., b. 7 May 1704, Boston; d. about 1736; m. 19 Oct. 1722, Boston, Increase Getchell, bp. 26 March 1699, 1st Church,  
(373)

Salem, Mass.; d. Jan. 1729, Boston; son of Jeremiah and Hannah (Saith) Getchell of Marblehead, Mass.

Children:

- i ELIZABETH, bp. 1723; d. probably before 1740.
- ii MARGARET, bp. 25 July 1725; d. abt. 14 Jan. 1726.

Elizabeth was baptized in the New South Church by the Rev. Samuel Checkley, and married by him. Her husband was a "gentleman" and a schoolmaster, but hardly a Puritan. The Getchells had an independent strain that in 1685 had landed one uncle, Joseph, in the pillory, with tongue pierced by a hot iron, and then in prison till the charges of his trial should be paid. He had, at his brother Jeremiah's house, in a "discourse on General Salvation" set forth heretical doctrines in no measured terms and followed this later by "several blasphemous speeches." Increase, however, wandered only as far as the Church of England. He was one of the founders of Christ Church, the Old North, and one of the original pew holders.

**14** ANN (Robert, Robert) of Boston, Mass., b. 7 July 1708; d. before 1740; m. 11 Jan. 1725, Boston, Thomas Green, son of John and Bethiah (Messenger) Green of Boston; d. before 1752.

Children, born in Boston:

- i THOMAS, b. 19 Oct. 1725.
- ii MARGARET, b. 3 May 1727; d. England after 1800; m. 30 May 1750 Richard Draper; no chn.
- iii ANN, b. 27 Feb. 1728.
- iv BETHIAH, b. 4 July 1730.
- v ROBERT, b. 25 Mar. 1734; d. before 1740.
- vi JOHN, b. 7 May 1735; m. Lydia Draper 4 Sept. 1755.
- vii MARY, b. 6 Nov. 1736.
- viii REBECCA, b. abt. 1738.

Ann Calef Green received from her father Robert's estate "82 pounds and 21 ounces of Plate in money," and from her mother, Margaret Barton Calef, a family treasure, a silver porringer. In Margaret's will, made after her daughter Ann's death, she directs that this porringer, which Ann's husband "then had in his hands," be given to Ann's daughter Margaret, also a gold necklace.

This granddaughter, Margaret Green, inherited sound business ability. She married Richard Draper, one of Boston's early printers; carried on his business during his long illness, and when he died in 1774 continued to publish his loyalist newspaper, the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*.

Trumbull, in "McFingal," writes of the royalist advisers of the time:

"Fill every leaf of copy paper  
Of Mills and Hicks and Mother Draper."

When the British troops evacuated Boston she went with them, taking her press along. For a short time she published the paper in Halifax, but soon went to England where she was pensioned by the English government. She died there after 1800.

**15** MARGARET (Robert, Robert) of Boston, Mass., New London, Conn., South Bridgewater, Mass.; b. 4 Oct. 1709, Boston; d. 16 Jan. 1802; m. 7 Nov. 1727, Boston, Jasper Starr, b. 21 May 1710, New London; d. June 1792, South Bridgewater; son of Benjamin and Lydia (Latham) Starr.

Child, born at Boston:

i JASPER, bp. 31 Oct. 1731.

Children, born at New London:

ii }  
iii } Twins, d. 1731.

iv ROBERT, b. 3 Aug. 1735.

v MARY, b. 6 Nov. 1737; d. May 1805; m. Moses Pierce;  
no chn.

vi BENJAMIN, b. 3 June 1739; d. 26 Oct. 1779.

vii JAMES, b. 2 May 1740; d. 12 Oct. 1824; m. Mary Winter.

Jasper Starr is called a goldsmith and a mariner. Whether he ever hammered gold or not may be questioned, but he was a sailor from his youth up. In 1745 he was master of the colony sloop "Defense" in the expedition against Cape Breton. The family lived several years in New London, then in Boston, and when he retired they exchanged their Boston home for a place in South Bridge-



water. His headstone stands in the Scotland Graveyard there.

Tradition says that the eldest son Jasper followed the sea. Of Robert and Benjamin no records are found. James Starr was at eighteen a soldier. He was with the Connecticut troops in 1758, in several engagements of the French and Indian War, and at Montreal when it was surrendered to the British. A cooper by trade, he settled on the family property at East Bridgewater, but not for long. He joined the Sons of Liberty and with two cousins of Calef blood took part in the Boston Tea Party. With his cooper's adze he cut open the tea chests as they were passed up to the deck. He went into the navy in the Revolution, was taken prisoner and carried to Halifax. After eleven months the prisoners were put on a transport to New York. Suspecting that the destination was the Jersey Prison Ship, they rose against the officers, seized command of the ship, and sailed into Marblehead. The last of his life was spent in Jay, Maine. He inherited the portrait of Margaret Barton Calef (3), his grandmother, which later went to James Starr's granddaughter, Mrs. Daniel Reade of Auburn, Maine.

**16** JOHN (John, Robert) of Sherborne, Nantucket, and Newbury, Mass.; b. 3 June 1703, Newbury; d. 25 Dec. 1755, Newbury; m. 31 Oct. 1739, Amesbury, Mass., Naomi Eliot, b. 13 May 1709; d. 6 Feb. 1754, Newbury; dau. of John and Naomi (Tuxbury) Eliot, Amesbury.

Children, born at Newbury, Second Parish:

- i Child, d. 19 July 1740.
- 40** ii JOHN, b. 13 June 1741.
- iii MOLLY, bp. 20 May 1744; d. 5 Dec. 1746.
- iv SARAH, b. 24 Dec. 1747; m. int. 20 March 1764 to Henry Tuxbury, of Amesbury.

"Master John" was a school teacher, who, in the phraseology of the day "sustained the character of a faithful instructor of children and youth." He was one of our early poets, publishing at about nineteen three elegies which were more severely treated in the *New England Courant* than they were worth. His elegy on the Rev-

erend Daniel Holbrook of Newbury, though far from poetry, shows the estimation in which funeral sermons were held at the time.

On Sabbath Day he went his way  
As he was used to do  
God's house unto, that they might know  
What he had for to show.  
When he came there  
He went to prayer  
But very faint he spoke,  
His mortal wound inclosed around  
And gave a fatal stroke.  
His hat he took, his head he shook,  
A mournful sigh he gave,  
A shepherd true the flock went through  
Not daunted to the grave.  
He often said, when that he laid  
His dying bed upon  
Distracted he should surely be  
Before his breath was gone  
God's holy will he must fulfill  
But it was his desire  
For to declare the sermon rare  
Concerning Madam Fryer.

Following some of his kin to Nantucket, John took to the sea and by "unavoidable disaster" somewhere between 1726 and 1739 he was away seven years, during one of which he was a prisoner in France.

He went back to Newbury, probably on his return from abroad, married in nearby Amesbury and became a teacher. He and Naomi Eliot left two children orphaned at fourteen and eight years, and a neighbor, John Bailey, is made their guardian on the request of the boy, who signs his name "John Calfe" in a firm clear hand.

Though the poet gave up authorship, it is noteworthy that his son John, whose teacher he was, became himself a teacher of literature, not a common interest at the time.

17 WILLIAM (John, Robert) of Newbury, Mass., Kingston, N. H.; b. 17 July 1706, Newbury; d. 5 March 1784; m. (1) 5 Nov. 1728, Newbury, Sarah Cheney, b. 25 Jan. 1709, Newbury; d. —; dau. of Daniel and

Hannah (Dustin) Cheney; (2) Nov. 1736, Lois Sawyer, b. 21 July 1718; d. 1799; dau. of Sergt. John and Sarah (Wells) (Sibley) Sawyer of Newbury.

Children by wife Sarah, born at Newbury:

- i SARAH, b. 19 Aug. 1729; d. before 1749.
- 41 ii JOHN, b. 14 June 1731.
- 42 iii HANNAH, b. 26 March 1733.

Children by wife Lois, born at Newbury:

- 43 iv WILLIAM, b. 26 Oct. 1737.

Born at Kingston:

- v LOIS, b. 4 Jan. 1739; m. Judge John Calef (40).
- vi SAMUEL, b. 7 Feb. 1741.
- 44 vii JOSEPH, b. 12 Dec. 1742.
- 45 viii LYDIA (HESTER), b. 30 July 1745.
- ix SARAH, b. 15 Sept. 1749; m. Col. James Calef (48).
- x MARY, b. 20 April 1752; d. 15 Nov. 1756.
- xi HANNAH, b. 29 Sept. 1754; d. 25 March 1757.
- 46 xii MARY, b. 22 Sept. 1758.
- 47 xiii DOROTHY (DOLLY), b. 20 June 1762.

At eleven William was apprenticed to a cordwainer of Newbury, John Huse. At twenty-three he made his first investment in land,—a house and lot and a blacksmith shop on Bedford Road Way. He and Lois belonged to the Second Church, West Newbury.

He moved to Kingston where he became a prosperous farmer and large land owner. It is said that he built the first "stack of chimneys" and two-story house in Kingston. The homestead in the inventory of his estate is described as on the south side of the road from Kingston Meeting-house to Chester. He was one of the fifty-seven original proprietors of Stevenstown (Salisbury) a township six miles square. He gave a farm to each child on marriage and in his will he left legacies of land in Rock Rimmon and Candia, as well as in Salisbury, Hillsborough and Kingston.

He was selectman and constable in Kingston, surveyor for the town, moderator of proprietors' meetings, and deacon of the church. Sarah Cheney Calef was the granddaughter of Hannah Dustin, heroine of the Indian raid on Haverhill, Massachusetts. Captured by the Indians

with her week old baby, soon killed, and her nurse, she managed to kill their ten sleeping Indian guards and, with the help of a captive boy, scuttle all but one of the canoes. The three then made their way back down the Merrimac from the site of the present Concord, N. H.

18 MARY (John, Robert) of Chester, N. H.; b. 4 Feb. 1708, Newbury, Mass.; d. before 11 March 1748; m. 13 Sept. 1727, Nathan Etheridge.

Children:

- i NATHANIEL, b. abt. 1729; m. —; lived in Raymond (Chester).
- ii DEBORAH, b. abt. 1730; m. 12 Sept. 1750, Joshua Hall; 11 chn.
- iii MARY, b. abt. 1732; m. Robert Ambrose, Concord, N. H.; 9 chn.

19 JAMES (John, Robert) of Newbury, Mass., Chester, N. H., Haverhill, Mass.; b. 31 Jan. 1710, Newbury; d. probably 1757, Fort William Henry; m. 2 Jan. 1735, by Rev. Moses Hall, Abigail Jewett, b. 18 May 1714, Rowley, Mass.; d. after 1776, probably Dover, N. H.; dau. of Daniel and Elizabeth (Hopkinson) Jewett.

Children:

- i ELIZABETH, bp. 31 Aug. 1735, Byfield Church; m. John Smith of Boston; no chn.
- ii SAMUEL, b. 3 Oct. 1736; d. probably 1757.
- iii JOHN, b. 1739; d. before 1808; m. Sally Hanson, Epping.
- 48 iv JAMES, b. abt. 1742.
- v ABIGAIL, bp. abt. 1747; m. Daniel Webber; no chn. known.
- 49 vi MARY, b. 1 Jan. 1752.
- 50 vii DANIEL, bp. 4 March 1754.

James was another of the Calef cloth makers. He began his trade at Newbury, carried it to Chester, where he had a two-story house near the school in Auburn Village. The family moved to Haverhill, Mass., First Parish, where they had connections. There he and his eldest son, Samuel, were enrolled in the First Foot Company of Haverhill and were drafted under Lt. Col James Osgood

to reinforce the garrison of Fort William Henry, then threatened by the French and Indians under Montcalm.

In the massacre that followed the surrender of the fort in 1757 both James and Samuel were lost. In 1758 Abigail made application to the government for her husband and son, hoping they might be among the men still held prisoners, but they were never found.

Evidently hope was long dying, for it was not till 1774 that she was granted permission to settle her husband's estate and an allowance given her for expenses incurred in bringing up the children under seven.

Widow Abigail was warned out of Boston 27th of February, 1764. "She is to be conveyed by constable to the town of Haverhill." One guesses that she had some Quaker beliefs or other theological opinions unwelcome to the majority, since the daughter of a Jewell and a Hopkinson, her father a deacon in the Byfield Church, Newbury, she can hardly have fallen under censure for ill conduct.

James's second son, John, went as a private under Capt. Richard Saltonstall in 1757 on the Crown Point expedition. He was a yeoman and inn-holder at Kingston. His widow married Joseph Lovering of Exeter.

**20 KING** (John, Robert) of Manchester, Haverhill and Newbury, Mass., and Chester, N. H.; b. 5 Nov. 1711, Newbury; d. —; m. 21 Feb. 1733, Manchester, Eunice Allen, b. 2 July 1710, Rochester, N. H.; d. —; dau. of John and Alice (Bennett) Allen of Beverly, Mass.

Children :

- i ALLEN, b. 1735 (?), Manchester, Mass.; living in 1798 at Northport, Me.
- 51 ii MARTHA, b. btw. 1738-45.
- 52 iii JOHN, bp. 29 Dec. 1754, Boston.
- iv JOSEPH, b. 1754, Marblehead, Mass.; d. 22 Sept. 1839, Warren, Me., "aged 85"; no chn.

King, named for his mother's family, was a cordwainer. Soon after his marriage he moved with his parents to Chester, N. H., where he was living in 1741. There he built a two-story house, on land eventually the home of



Benjamin Chase, the historian of Chester. King may, later, have taken his family back to Massachusetts, settling near his wife's people. Eunice Allen's grandfather bore the resounding name of Onesiphorus, which should help to trace this elusive family. The records are scant, but so far as they can be gathered or guessed, there were four children. The son Allen was living in Northport in 1798, a farmer presumably, owning 150 acres. Records gathered by descendants of Martha Calef Ring seem to substantiate her connection. Joseph married in Newfoundland, settled in Warren Village, where he and his wife died both within a week, of an epidemic. Of John, the records are scantiest of all, but by reason of dates and similarity of names in the children, it seems fair to suppose that he is the John known to have lived in Castine, Maine, and to have married Mary Prince Allen.

**21** ROBERT (John, Robert) of Chester, N. H.; b. 7 May 1715, Newbury, Mass.; d. 1788, Chester; m. (1) 12 Oct. 1738, Haverhill, Mass., Elizabeth Bradley; (2) 8 June 1748, South Hampton, N. H., by Rev. M. Parsons, Hannah (French) Flanders, widow of John Flanders; (3) 16 Oct. 1755, Haverhill, Ann (Clement) Whitaker; (4) Mary (Folsom) Bradley, b. 1719; d. 10 Aug. 1817, Concord, N. H.; dau. of John and Mary (Sewall) Folsom, Exeter, N. H.

Children by wife Hannah:

53 i SARAH, b. 12 June 1749.

ii JOHN, b. 28 Oct. 1752; d. 14 July 1754.

Robert carried on his father's fulling-mill at Chester, N. H., and built a saw-mill nearby. He was sued for the flooding of a meadow near his dam, but won the suit. The next owner of the meadow believed in direct action, and gathered a group of men who cut the dam. Robert prosecuted him for riot, and as the best way out he gave up the fight and sold the land to Joseph Blanchard, husband of Robert's daughter Sarah. The dam was not rebuilt, but the mill was moved and Robert with his son-in-law continued the business. It is said that there was no other fulling-mill short of Canada, and cloth was brought two hundred miles to be fullled at Chester.

Robert was Sergeant in Capt. Edward Williams' company in the Louisburg expedition of 1745. In 1775 he was a member of the committee of safety and was a deputy to the meeting at Exeter for choosing a delegate to the Congress at "Philidelfia," in May of that year. In 1776 his name is among those signing the "Associates Test" which ends with the words: "We the subscribers do hereby solemnly engage and promise that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, with ARMS oppose the hostile Proceedings of the British fleets and Armies against the United American Colonies."

Mary Folsom Bradley, his fourth wife, was the widow of Samuel Bradley who was killed by the Indians in 1746, when taking flour from Concord, N. H., to the grist mill at Hopkinton. A monument near Concord marks the spot. She was a woman of great energy and superior education, brought up in the home of Lieutenant Governor Gilman.

**22** JOSEPH (John, Robert) of Auburn, South Candia, Chester, N. H., Amesbury, Mass.; b. 31 Oct. 1718, Newbury, Mass.; d. 21 Dec. 1793, Auburn, N. H.; m. 30 Sept. 1746, Amesbury, by Rev. Mr. Wingate, Elizabeth Jewell of Amesbury.

Children, born at Chester:

- 54 i ELIZABETH, b. 21 Sept. 1747.
- ii ABIGAIL, b. 8 May 1749; d. 1755.
- iii JOSEPH, b. 12 Oct. 1750; d. 1755.
- iv HANNAH, b. 25 Sept. 1752; d. 1755.
- v SARAH, b. 5 Nov. 1754; d. 1755.
- vi Child, b. 1755; d. 1755.
- 55 vii JONATHAN, b. 8 May 1762.
- 56 viii JOSEPH, b. 1765.
- 57 ix DAVID, b. 27 April 1767.

In the spring of 1746 Joseph was one of Captain Goffe's company scouting the woods to guard the settlers against the Indians.

Joseph's house was just northwest of the road from Bunker Hill to Candia and was still standing in 1869, probably the oldest house in Auburn.

Five little children of this family died in 1755 of a throat distemper so virulent that "on one or more occasions while they were gone to the grave with one child another had died." Terrorstricken for the remaining child, Elizabeth, they fled to the mother's old home, Amesbury, only to be warned out by a community naturally fearful of contagion. By some arrangement, however, they must have stayed on, since Joseph is "of Amesbury" in 1756, then again "of Chester" the following year.

He apparently joined the army at Charlestown when the "Lexington alarm" came to Chester, and Elizabeth, his wife, buried her pewter lest the British run it into bullets.

**23** DANIEL (John, Robert) of Newbury and Newburyport, Mass., Chester, N. H.; b. 10 Jan. 1720, Newbury; d. 17 May 1796; m. 6 March 1743, by Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, Mary Gile, b. —; d. 17 Aug. 1745, Chester; dau. of Joseph and Mary (Heath) Gile.

Child:

58 i MOSES, b. 6 March 1745.

Daniel was a maker of leather "britches" and a trader. He was a land owner in Chester. In June 1744 he sailed on the privateer brigantine "Hawk," commander Samuel Waterhouse, and was probably at Louisburg with his brother Joseph. He was one of a prize crew, captured in July.

In 1755 his shop was in Boston. In 1758 he was there suing John Coverly, goldsmith, for some seven pounds on a bill for "Deer leather Britches, Black Bricks, Winegar and Snufe." He went to Newburyport probably early in the 60's, for it is said he was warned out in 1764. Whatever the difficulty, politics perhaps, for feeling ran high in those days, it seems to have been smoothed out, for he spent the rest of his life there, and, in his later years, carried on his shop in part of his son Moses' dwelling.

**24** JEREMIAH (Jeremiah, Robert) of Exeter, N. H.; b. abt. 1710, Portsmouth, N. H.; d. probably 1757, Fort William Henry; m. Lydia Robinson, b. 1715; d. 31 May 1795; dau. of Jonathan Robinson of Brentwood, N. H.

## Children :

- i JONATHAN, b. 3 Nov. 1738; d. 28 Aug. 1744.
- ii LUCY, b. 8 May 1741; d. 21 July 1743.
- iii LYDIA, b. 22 May 1746; d. 9 Dec. 1812; m. John Robinson (Robertson).
- iv LUCY, b. 21 Jan. 1748-9; d. 6 Nov. 1755.
- v MARY, bp. 23 Jan. 1753; m. Jeremiah Calef (62).

Sergeant Jeremiah was a "joyner" by trade. He was at Fort William Henry on the surrender, August 9, 1757, and like his cousin James Calef and James' son Samuel, was never again heard of. This is doubtless the reason for the phrase in his father's will, dated 1762, leaving a legacy provisionally to "his son Jeremiah, then abroad . . . but if he should not return to this country," the goods go to the daughters, Mary and Lydia.

25 DANIEL (Jeremiah, Robert) of Boston and Newburyport, Mass.; b. abt. 1713; d. June/July 1770; m. 24 Dec. 1747, Boston, Margaret Boage (Bodge) of Portsmouth, N. H.

## Children :

- i ELIZABETH, b. 1748.
- 59 ii DANIEL, bp. 27 Aug. 1749.
- iii ABIGAIL, bp. 9 Feb. 1752.
- iv JOHN, bp. 29 Dec. 1754; "Ropemaker."
- v SAMUEL, bp. 15 May 1757.
- vi LUCY, bp. 9 Sept. 1759; d. Jan. 1773.
- vii JEREMIAH, bp. 17 Jan. 1762; "Tobacconist."
- viii JAMES, bp. 26 May 1765; "Blockmaker."

Daniel and Margaret were married in the New South Church, Boston, where we also find records of all their children's baptisms excepting Elizabeth's.

Other records of this family are incomplete. Daniel was in Gilmanton for a short time with his father and brother James in 1738. He is mentioned in his father's will in 1762. Apparently he was a blacksmith and importer of rum in Boston, dying in 1770, for in July of that year Margaret Calef, widow of Daniel Calef, petitions to continue the sale of liquor at her house in Sea Street, she being "so impaired in health as to be incapable of doing much laborious work" by reason of her husband's

long illness, and having four small children to provide for. She promises to "manage with caution as in Duty bound." The petition is signed by twenty-eight citizens, John Adams and John Cotton among them, and as a "person of sober life and conversation," her petition was allowed.

No further records of the children, save of the eldest son, Daniel, and the date of Lucy's death have been found. John, the "Rope-maker," may be the John who married Tomasina Nevins (1756-1829) in Portsmouth, N. H., November 13, 1776. They had a son Thomas and a daughter Sarah. John, by his dates, might be one of the several candidates for the honors of that sailor John, who escaped from Mill Prison, Plymouth, England in 1777; was in command of the schooner "Hawk" in 1779, and of the brig "Massachusetts" in 1780. He might be the Captain John who lived in St. Kitts, West Indies, who sent contributions to the Massachusetts Humane Society from 1788 to 1810. The daughter Abigail might be the "Sarah (Abigail)" who in the Newburyport vital statistics is given as marrying Daniel Webber, August 18, 1776, rather than the Abigail, daughter of James (19). Newburyport statistics also mention a Samuel Calef, Jr., who was "lost with Francis Trask at sea," January, 1805, and had a daughter, Polly. He may well be one of the two Samuel Calefs of Boston, privates, in 1775. The other was doubtless Samuel, son of Joseph Calef (28 ii).

**26 JAMES** (Jeremiah, Robert) of Exeter and Gilman-ton, N. H.; b. abt. 1720, Portsmouth; d. 16 Nov. 1801; m. (1) Ruth Smith, b. —; d. before 5 July 1759; dau. of Oliver and Rachel Smith. (2) before 3 Jan. 1778, Mehitable —.

Children by wife Ruth:

- 60 i OLIVER, b. abt. 1749.
- 61 ii ELIZABETH, bp. 6 Aug. 1749.
- 62 iii } JEREMIAH, b. 19 Jan., 1751; m. Molly Calef (24v)
- iv } JAMES, b. 19 Jan. 1751; probably d. young.
- 63 v RUTH, b. Aug. 1752.
- vi LUCY, bp. 31 Oct. 1756; m. 13 March 1781, M. Hopkin-son, Exeter.



James is called "a joyner," "a husbandman," "a yeoman." It is said that his second wife was his first wife's widowed sister, Mehitable Smith Lyford.

**27** JOHN (Robert, Joseph, Robert) of Ipswich, Mass., Castine, Me., St. Andrews, N. B.; b. 30 Aug. 1726, Ipswich; d. 23 Oct. 1812, St. Andrews; m. (1) 10 Dec. 1747, Ipswich, Margaret Rogers, bp. 14 Dec. 1729; d. 27 March 1750; dau. of Rev. Nathaniel and Mary (Leverett) Rogers of Ipswich; (2) 18 Jan. 1753, Rowley, Mass., Dorothy Jewett, b. 2 May 1736; d. 27 Aug. 1809, St. Andrews; dau. of Rev. Jedediah and Elizabeth (Dummer) Jewett of Rowley.

Children by wife Margaret:

64 i MARGARET, b. 15 Oct. 1748.

65 ii MARY, b. 20 March 1750.

Children by wife Dorothy:

iii JOHN, b. 2 Nov. 1753; d. 19 Feb. 1782, drowned at Ipswich.

iv JEDEDIAH, b. 22 Sept. 1755; d. 10 March 1778.

v ELIZABETH, b. 24 Oct. 1757; d. 7 Sept. 1771.

vi Daughter, b. 16 May 1759; d. same day.

vii ROBERT, b. 16 Nov. 1760; d. 13 April 1801, Norfolk, Va.; unm.

viii DOROTHY, b. 16 Nov. 1762; d. 29 March 1805; unm.

ix SARAH, b. 27 June 1764; d. 25 March 1854; St. Andrews; unm.

x SUSANNA, b. 7 Feb. 1766; d. 11 May 1808; unm.

66 xi MEHITABLE, b. 13 Sept. 1767.

xii MARTHA, b. 22 May 1770; d. 23 Sept. 1771.

xiii SAMUEL, b. 26 July 1772; d. 1812 at sea.

xiv Daughter, b. 12 April 1775.

xv Daughter, b. 22 Aug. 1776.

67 xvi JEDEDIAH JEWETT, b. 22 June 1778.

Dr. John was one of the many loyalists who were forced to leave the country during the Revolution.

Left an orphan at eight, he was brought up by his grandmother, Mary Ayer Calef. His guardian, an uncle, John Staniford, was after a year removed at her request and some eighteen years later John recovered from his uncle's widow property to the amount of more than a hundred

pounds. In the list are mentioned "a negro man named Fortune"; a negro boy, Titus, aged nine; another named Minster, aged six; a "scrutoir"; a horse and chaise; a watch; silver and furniture; five books, one a copy of Willard's "Body of Divinity," perhaps the one for which his uncle Joseph (9) had subscribed.

He was said to have received a superior education and it is known that for a year he was in the Boston Latin School under the famous teacher Master John Lovell. At twenty-one he was settled as a physician in Ipswich.

Margaret Rogers, his first wife, was the granddaughter of John Leverett, president of Harvard.

From 1754 to 1760 he was with various commands in "His Britannic Majesty's service"; as surgeon on the Western Front in '54; under Major Thompson in the "Old French War" in '56. In that year he was at Crown Point and in charge of the Army hospital at Albany, later, on account of smallpox, moved to Half Moon. Here the sick and wounded from the "Main Army" were sent. In 1759 he was on an expedition to Crown Point, and at Louisburg in 1760. The fleet of transports with which he sailed in September was blown off the coast to the West Indies and did not reach Boston till the following March.

During this time also, he was engaged in foreign commerce, being part owner of the schooner "Speed-well" sailing to Bilboa.

From 1755 on he was frequently Representative from Ipswich to the General Court, and a long document sets forth for his guidance the wishes of the town in connection with the growing differences between the colonies and the Home Government. In 1774, some vote having been called in question, he signed the following statement:

"Inasmuch as a great Number of Persons are about the House of the Subscriber, who say they have heard I am an enemy to my Country, etc., and have sent a large Committee to me to examine me respecting my principles, In compliance with their request I declare,

"First, I hope and believe I fear God, honour the King, and love my Country.

Secondly, I believe the Constitution of civil Government held forth in the Charter of Massachusetts Bay Province to

be the best in the whole World, and that the Rights and Privileges thereof ought to be highly esteemed, greatly valued, and seriously contended for, and that the late Acts of Parliament made against this province are unconstitutional and unjust and that I will use all lawful Means to get the same recovered; and that I never have and never will act by a Commission under the new Constitution of Government, and if I have ever said or done anything to enforce said Act I am heartily sorry for it; and as I gave my vote in the General Assembly on the 30th of June, 1768, contrary to the Minds of the People, I beg their Forgiveness and that the good people of the Province would restore me to their Esteem and Friendship again."

This vote was the occasion of the cartoon by Paul Revere picturing the seven who had voted retraction of a petition to the King. Calef is drawn with a calf's head.

He was for years Justice of the Peace for Essex County and one of His Majesty's justices of the Court of General Sessions, 1772-1775.

In 1772 he went to England representing certain "planters and settlers," and returned in 1774 in his cousin Capt. Robert Calef's vessel, the "London Packet." With him came a Captain Lee to take command of the "Lord Dartmouth," a vessel of 300 tons that Dr. John had had built at Danvers for the London firm, Calef and Chuter. It was designed for the East India trade, but ships of British owners were by this time under suspicion. Dr. John's petition for clearing papers that Captain Lee might sail it to London, made to the Provincial Congress in 1775 and later to the Massachusetts Legislature, were alike refused. The vessel was seized, and lay for years rotting where it had grounded, a total loss to its owners.

In 1777 Dr. John gave up his property in Ipswich, selling to John Heard his house, homestead, barn, pasture on north side of Heartbreak Hill, Calef wharf and warehouse, the "machine for weighing hay," and pew 24 in the Meeting House of the First Parish. The house was later moved to a site east of the South Meeting House, and was standing in 1887.

This was the beginning of sales and gifts of property in which "his wife, Dorothy Calef, gentlewoman," often figures, and which continued till 1806.

Dr. John at once joined the British troops at Fort George, Penobscot (Castine), Maine, and in 1781 went to England as agent for the inhabitants who wished that district set off from Massachusetts as a loyal province under the name of New Ireland. While in England he published his "Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels by J. C. Esq. a Volunteer," a beautifully printed little book with a fine map, a copy of which is treasured in the New York Public Library's rare books room.

At the close of the war he settled in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, there practicing his profession till his death. In his family record is this entry:

"My very dear and faithful consort died Sabbath eve, the 27th Augt. 1809 in a sudden and surprising manner, we having lived together 56 years, 7 mos., and nine days."

Lord Timothy Dexter had written of her:

"Doctor Calef—wife of thine  
Fruitful as a pumpkin vine."

Margaret, the eldest daughter, married Dr. Scott, a dentist and an apothecary, who had drugs for sale "at the Medicine Store at the Sign of the Leopard, near the Haymarket, South End, Boston."

The eldest son, John, went to Dummer Academy in the days of the noted Master Moody. John took to the sea, and was early a master mariner. On a return voyage from the West Indies he was drowned when his ship ran ashore at Plum Island, Ipswich. Although his father's well known loyalist principles make this a question, yet it is possible that he is the Capt. John Calef who, with the crew of the schooner "Hawk," was taken by the British and committed to Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, 10 May 1779. He escaped with John Knight, of Newbury, and in 1780 was given command of the brig "Massachusetts." That he was in command when this vessel captured a British ship with a cargo valued at \$100,000, as has been said, seems unlikely, since this exploit took place before the official date of his taking command.

Robert, the fourth son, was an apothecary of Ipswich. He was a Loyalist and took charge of settling his father's and mother's affairs in Massachusetts after the Revolution.

On this business he was in London in 1797, dealing with Robert Calef and John Chuter of the Old City Chambers, Bishopgate Street. This task finished he went to Norfolk, Virginia, where his brother Samuel was a ship-master.

Samuel followed the sea like his eldest brother, John. At twenty-three he was captain of the "Charlotte" of Norfolk, Virginia. In 1812 the ship on which he was returning from New Orleans was lost and all hands are supposed to have perished.

**28** JOSEPH (Joseph, Joseph, Robert) of Milton and Boston, Mass.; b. 4 Nov. 1724, Boston; d. 31 May 1776, Milton; m. 1758, Boston, by Rev. M. Robbins, Mehitable Miller, bp. 4 May 1735; d. 30 Sept. 1790, Milton; dau. of Colonel Samuel and Rebecca (Minot) Miller of Milton.

Children, born at Milton.

- 68 i) JOSEPH, b. 12 Dec. 1758.
- ii) SAMUEL, b. 12 Dec. 1758; d. Cape Elizabeth, Me.; unm.
- 69 iii) EBENEZER WINTER, b. 17 Aug. 1760.
- 70 iv) HANNAH, b. 1 March 1763.
- v MEHITABLE MILLER, b. 1 Sept. 1765; d. Nov. 1844; m. Colonel Thomas Legate, Leominster, Mass.; no chn.
- 71 vi) STEPHEN MILLER, b. 9 Sept. 1767.
- vii) ROBERT JORDAN, b. 9 May 1770; d. 22 March 1776.
- viii) REBECCA THAYER, b. 27 May 1772; m. Joseph N. Howe; no chn.
- ix) JOHN, b. 9 May 1776; d. 30 Aug. 1777.

Joseph was baptized in the New South Church, Boston. He was less successful as a merchant than was usual in the family, but the sale of his lands appears in time, under the management of that excellent business man, his brother Ebenezer Winter Calef, to have settled his affairs. In his estate are mentioned an Indian Bible and twenty-one other books.

The Rev. Thomas Smith of Falmouth, Maine, writes in his journal, 8 Aug. 1772: "Dr. Cooper and Mr. Bowes came to lodge with us. With them came Dr. Winthrop, [John] Hancock, Brattle, Hubbard and [Joseph] Calef."

The home in Milton was standing late in the last century. On a window glass was cut with a diamond: "Jo-



seph Calef, 1760." The homestead of forty and one-half acres had come as a gift, in 1758, from Samuel Miller Esquire and Rebecca, his wife, to their "beloved daughter Mehitable and son Joseph Calef jr. of Boston, gentleman."

The son Samuel was a private from Boston in Col. Brewer's regiment in 1775. With his twin brother, Joseph, he was on duty in 1776 in Capt. Jonah Vose's company, "guarding the shores," and was a seaman on the brigantine "Hawk" under Capt. Jonathan Oakes in 1777.

Joseph Howe, Rebecca's husband, a "rope-maker" of Boston and Milton, had by his first wife a son Samuel. This son became the head of the Perkins Institute at Boston, was a great teacher of the blind, and married Julia Ward Howe.

**29** HANNAH (Joseph, Joseph, Robert) of Newburyport, Mass.; bp. 12 Dec. 1742, New South Church, Boston; d. —; m. 3 June 1764, New South Church, Boston, Dr. Gottfried Tristian Smith, b. —; d. before 1794.

Children:

- i GODFREY, b. —; d. March 1814, Philadelphia.
- ii JOSEPH, b. —; d. 3 May 1790, on voyage from "Carolina to Amsterdam."
- iii HANNAH, b. —; m. 1792, Charles Miller, Esq., Boston.

**30** MARY (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass., and Hallowell, Maine; b. 2 March 1729, Nantucket; d. 26 July 1815, Hallowell; m. 1748 (2nd wife) Obed Hussey, b. —; d. 16 June 1790, Hallowell; son of Silvanus and Abiel (Brown) Hussey.

Children, born at Nantucket:

- i PETER, b. 16 Jan. 1749; d. 1 Jan. 1774.
- ii JAMES, b. 18 Sept. 1751; d. 30 May 1753.
- iii PEGGY, b. 22 May 1753; d. 17 Aug. 1754.
- iv JAMES, b. 18 Jan. 1755; d. 13 Feb. 1757.
- v SAMUEL, b. 18 Oct. 1756; d. 24 April 1801.
- vi TIMOTHY, b. 18 May 1758; d. 20 March 1760.
- vii Child, stillborn 17 Dec. 1759.
- viii POLLY, b. 28 Nov. 1760; d. 11 July 1787.
- ix BETSY, b. 9 Oct. 1762; d. 9 Feb. 1792.

- x ELSE, b. 18 May 1764; d. 20 June 1766.
- xi NANCY, b. 22 Aug. 1767; m. Philip Norcross.
- xii SALLY, b. Jan. 1774; m. Gershon Cocks.

Obed's first wife was Margaret Coffin, who had eight children. (See Hallowell, Me., records.)

Mary's birth date has also been given as 7 July 1728.

**31** PETER (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass.; bp. 26 Sept. 1731, Nantucket; d. probably before 1776; m. 16 Aug. 1744, Nantucket, Abigail Woodbury, b. —; d. —; dau. of Nathaniel Woodbury. Widow Abigail Calef m. (2) John Starbuck, (3) Dr. Benjamin Tupper.

Child:

- i PETER, bp. 16 Aug. 1747, Nantucket.

Peter's birth date has been given as 6 Aug. 1745, which may mean that a child Peter died and another child was named for him.

**32** ROBERT (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass.; Homerton, Eng.; Dedham and Weston, Mass.; bp. 26 Sept. 1731, Nantucket; d. 25 Jan. 1814, Weston; m. 29 July 1758, Nantucket, Sally Coffin, b. 1 Aug. 1738; d. 28 Nov. 1834, Weston; dau. of Major Josiah and Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin.

Children:

- i JOHN (?)
- ii ELIZABETH, bp. 3 June 1764; m. Charles Yarnall.
- iii SARAH, bp. 19 Aug. 1764; m. John Chester (John Chuter (?) of London).
- iv ROBERT, bp. 25 June 1769.
- v JAMES, bp. 11 Aug. 1771.

An importer and sea captain, Robert's name appears in the advertisements of Boston papers from 1756 till the Revolution. He is bringing tea, etc., for Barnabas Clarke, Boston merchant; goods from London for Nathan Frazier, Andover. The "Volunteer" arrives and sails. The "London Packet" brings and takes passengers. Among these is the "Rev. Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian," and "Phyllis Wheatly, the ingenius Negro Poet."

The "London Packet," "bound for London," is owned by Robert Calef and John Chuter of the Old City Chambers, Bishopsgate Street, merchants there till 1797 or later. Captain Robert, after Boston was closed by the Port Bill, managed to sail the "Packet" in November, 1774, from Salem, and bring her safely to London.

It was in 1793 that Captain Robert, in a power of attorney dated Homerton, County of Middlesex, England, describes himself as a broker. He appoints "Sarah Calef, my wife, at present of Homerton, but about to depart for America, my true and lawful attorney."

Sarah's errand in America was evidently to sell the real estate of "Robert Calef, formerly of Sherborn (Nantucket), Commonwealth of Massachusetts, but now a resident of Old England, in the City of London, trader."

In 1797 he had come back and was "of Dedham, Mass." He bought eighty acres in Weston with a dwelling-house, where, according to a newspaper clipping, he and Sally lived, at the north end of town, in "almost baronial state and magnificence."

He made many other purchases of land, perhaps unwisely, for when past eighty, the year before his death, he mortgaged the fine Weston property. His wife, in 1815, sold the pew in the Meeting House, and when she died, twenty years later, her estate amounted to but \$325, personal property. A kinswoman named Woodbury was chief creditor and sole heir.

It would seem that there were no children living when the Captain died, and indeed as to children there is little definite to go on. Save one, John, the list here printed is from the records of the New South Church, Boston, children of "Robert and Sarah Calef." Since the Captain's ships docked at Boston, his family may have lived there quite as much as in Nantucket, but they kept their connections with their Nantucket kindred. Mrs. Dr. Edward Holyoke wrote from the Island, June 5, 1775: "Dined with Mrs. Fitch in Company with Captain [Robert] Calef, lady and two daughters." The name of the daughter Elizabeth's husband's family is often found in Nantucket records of that time. The Yarnalls were a Philadelphia Quaker family of note, and there was much

business between the sea-faring folk of the two places. While one is guessing, since there is no trace of the other daughter's husband, John Chester, one is tempted to make the Chester into Chuter. Her parents were in England while she was a young lady, and doubtless intimate with those business and family friends, Calef and Chuter of the Old City Chambers.

It is said there was in Nantucket a legend that the Captain left a son John. If there was a son John, he might have been the Captain John of St. Christophers, West Indies, mentioned under Daniel (25). That he was the John of Revolutionary exploits seems less likely by reason of his probable age and because one guesses that Captain Robert with his close London connections and living in England for some time after the Revolution was, like his cousin, Dr. John Calef, loyalist in sympathy.

Birth date of Robert has been given as 5 Dec. 1731.

**33** EBENEZER (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass.; bp. 22 July 1739, Nantucket; d. 18 Oct. 1807; m. Elizabeth Coffin, b. —; d. 12 Jan. 1809; dau. of Enoch and Love Coffin.

Children:

- i ELIZABETH, b. 18 Feb. 1792; d. unkm.
- ii LOVE, b. 11 Dec. 1794; d. unkm.
- iii URIAH, b. 11 Jan. 1797; d. unkm.
- iv JOHN, b. 8 March 1799; d. 10 June 1819 at sea.

Ebenezer was a joiner and had large properties in Nantucket, where he bought the lands of his brother, Captain Robert. Ebenezer's estate at his death was worth the considerable sum, for the time and place, of \$11,675. He was executor of his father's and his mother's estates. To him his mother left her clock and silver tankard. His earmark is recorded as a "fork in the Right Ear and a Half-penny atop the same."

The two daughters "taught a good school in Nantucket." Later they lived for a time in Baltimore. The son John died at sea. Uriah went to Savannah. None married.

Birth date of Ebenezer has been given as 5 Nov. 1732.

**34** ELIZABETH (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass.; bp. 22 July 1739; d. 19 Oct. 1828; m. (1)

William Brock, Esq., b. 25 Feb. 1735, Nantucket; d. 4 Dec. 1781; son of Thomas and Patience (Gardner) Brock; (2) Josiah Coffin, Jr. (3rd wife), b. 28 Aug. 1728; d. —; son of Major Josiah and Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin.

Children, by husband William Brock:

- i ELIZABETH, b. —; m. Nathaniel Macy, Jr.
- ii JENNET, b. —.
- iii SARAH, b. —; m. Benjamin Ames, Jr.
- iv WILLIAM, b. —; m. Rebecca Gardner.
- v THOMAS, b. —; m. Eunice Worth.
- vi MARY, b. —; m. Thaddeus Starbuck.

Birth date of Elizabeth Calef has been given as 10 Feb. 1736.

**35** MARGARET (Ebenezer, Joseph, Robert) of Nantucket, Mass.; bp. 16 Aug. 1747, Nantucket; d. 17 Oct. 1825, Nantucket; m. (1) Joseph Cook, no chn. (2) Paul Coggeshall, b. 15 March 1750; d. 21 Oct. 1823; son of John and Elizabeth Coggeshall of Rhode Island.

Children, by husband Paul Coggeshall:

- i JOSEPH CALEF, b. 11 July 1776; d. 13 Oct. 1823; m. Nancy Fitzgerald, dau. of Henry Fitzgerald.
- ii ROBERT, b. 1782; d. 15 Feb. 1852; m. Betsy Coffin, dau. of Elijah Coffin.
- iii MAHALA, b. —; d. 16 May 1809; m. David Coffin, son of Jonathan Coffin.

Birth date of Margaret has been given as 15 Nov. 1745.

**36** JOSEPH (Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Charlestown and Medford, Mass.; bp. 3 May 1724; d. 1761; m. 15 April 1746, Medford, by Rev. Eben Turrell, Frances Thompson, b. 17 June 1726; d. 8 Sept. 1775; dau. of Joseph Thompson, Woburn, Mass.

Children:

- i FRANCES, bp. 24 Jan. 1747; d. 4 Dec. 1753, Medford.
- ii PETER, b. 27 Aug. 1750; d. 3 Sept. 1751.
- iii JOSEPH, bp. 3 June 1754.
- iv PETER, b. 27 May 1754.
- v FRANCES, b. 28 Dec. 1756; m. 1 Oct. 1778, Richard Pool.



Joseph, "mariner," of Medford, appears as a lad to have gone with his uncle, Captain Charles Codman, to "Loisberg." No other voyages are suggested by the records. He had from his father's estate a half a dwelling in Charlestown and "a Silver Tankard, 22oz. in weight."

The family seems to have lived a time in Charlestown, for he is a leather-dresser there in 1748. Three years later, however, he was buying part of a dwelling in Medford, and after his death his widow, Frances, bought of Deacon Willys the "westerly chamber" in this same house "to be used by her during her natural life and by her assigns."

The son Joseph was a cooper in Medford in 1784. He may have married and been the father of the Thomas who married in Medford in 1813, Sally Stowers.

**37** MARY (Peter, Joseph, Robert), bp. 23 April 1732, Charlestown, First Congregational Church; d. —; m. 5 Jan. 1758, Waltham, Mass., Stephen White of Holliston, Me. (?)

Child:

i PARNEL, b. 25 Feb. 1761.

With her share of her father's estate Mary had a special legacy of a flowered satin gown, a treasure perhaps of her mother, who died when she was a little child.

**38** PARNEL (Peter, Joseph, Robert) of Sherburn (Nantucket), Mass.; bp. 16 Feb. 1735, Charlestown, Mass.; d. 19 Dec. 1813; m. Dr. Edward Coffin, b. 15 May 1734, Nantucket; d. —; son of Josiah and Elizabeth (Coffin) Coffin.

Children:

i EDWARD, b. —; m. Janet Clark, dau. of Reuben and Mary Clark; chn.

ii CHRISTOPHER, b. 10 Dec. 1758; m. Nancy Bridges, Wayne Co., Va.; chn.

iii SALLY, b. 27 Oct. 1762; m. John Morris, son of Jacob Morris.

Parnel inherited from her father, Peter, one-half of the house on the main street of Charlestown, a gold necklace and gold buttons.

*(To be continued)*

## BOOK REVIEWS

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THE VOYAGE OF THE NEW HAZARD TO THE NORTHWEST COAST, HAWAII AND CHINA. By Stephen Reynolds, a Member of the Crew. Edited by Judge F. W. Howay, F.R.S.C. 1938. xxii + 158 pp., small quarto, cloth, illus. Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum. Price, \$4.00. Limited edition of 100 numbered copies, price \$7.50.

In the early years of the nineteenth century Salem ships explored nearly all channels of foreign trade except that with the Northwest Coast of America, which was practically monopolized by Boston. Nevertheless, at least two Salem-owned vessels, the brig *New Hazard* and the ship *Packet*, were sent out from Boston to the Northwest Coast. A journal of the *New Hazard's* voyage from Boston to the Hawaiian Islands, the Northwest Coast, China and back, between 10 October 1810 and 24 December 1813, was bought by the Peabody Museum of Salem. It was kept by Stephen Reynolds (1782-1857), a foremast hand who was a native of Boxford, Massachusetts, and although not the official log it is, so far as known, the only account now existing of the voyage.

Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, who has long been a distinguished student of the Northwest Coast fur trade, has edited Stephen Reynolds' journal. Most references to wind and weather, the vessel's courses and handling, and insignificant matters of daily routine have been omitted, so as to leave a readable narrative. Judge Howay has contributed some four hundred footnotes, identifying places mentioned in the text and explaining details of the trade, as well as an Introduction in which he sketches the life of Stephen Reynolds and the history of the *New Hazard*.

Journals of entire voyages from New England to the Northwest Coast are sufficiently rare to make this text of reasonable historical consequence. In addition it gives a contemporary picture of life at sea in the early years of the nineteenth century from the point of view of the average sailor. The general reader will find in Stephen Reynolds' narrative much concerning conditions on board ship, life in port at the Hawaiian Islands and in China, and the circumstances of the fur trade with the Indians of the Northwest Coast. The picture as a whole is neither pretty nor inspiring, but it is authentic and full of interest.

**THE RING AND THE TREE AND OTHER POEMS.** By Sylvester Baxter. 1938. 80 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. Price, \$1.00.

This reprint of Mr. Baxter's poems is brought out by Cornelius P. Hanlon, his executor. Born on Cape Cod, Mr. Baxter came to Boston, where most of his work was accomplished. As newspaper man, free lance writer and poet, he added much to the cultural life of Boston. He is best remembered for his work on the Metropolitan Park Commission, of which he was one of the first interested members. His poems are well worth republishing.

**A PURITAN CHURCH AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITY, STATE AND NATION.** Addresses delivered in preparation for the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of New Haven. By Oscar Edward Maurer, D.D. 1938. 208 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. Price, \$2.00.

This volume comprises eight addresses given by the author, who is pastor of the Center Church, in preparation for the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven. In addition, there is a history of the parish from 1825 to date, and biographical sketches of pastors. Dr. Maurer clearly shows the development of the community, state and nation during the period covered.

**GENERAL WASHINGTON'S DILEMMA.** By Katherine Mayo. 1938. 323 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. Price, \$2.50.

Katherine Mayo never does anything by halves, and the amount of research she has put into this latest book is extensive, in this country, England, and France. During the Revolution when outrage and reprisal were the order of the day, one of the colonists was hanged by a band of "loyalists." Monmouth County, New Jersey, was enraged and demanded of General Washington that a British soldier of equal rank be selected for the same punishment. Capt. Charles Asgill was chosen by lot, and this story hinges on how Washington was placed in an embarrassing position on account of the prominence of the prisoner's family in England, and the diplomacy that had to be used before the young man was released. The actors and the setting form a rich pageant of our early history.

**HISTORIC SALEM IN FOUR SEASONS.** A Camera Impression, by Samuel Chamberlain. 1938. 74 pp., square octavo, boards, illus. New York: Hastings House. Price, \$1.25.

This new book on Salem is a little gem. The author, who is a nationally known artist and etcher, states in the foreword that whereas "no five-foot bookshelf could hold the volumes which have been written about Salem," there has always been a dearth of good photographic reproductions. This lack, Mr. Chamberlain, with his keen eye for the beautiful, has amply supplied. He has selected from the great number of interesting places, some of the best examples of houses and views from an architectural and artistic point of view. We predict a large sale all over the country.

**THE BALLOUS IN AMERICA.** An Addendum to the original History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America. Compiled by the Works Progress Administration of Massachusetts. 1937. 210 pp., quarto, paper. Boston: The Ballou Family Association of America.

This useful volume is a continuation of the Ballou genealogy which was published in Providence in 1888, and brings the lines up to date. It is a distinct contribution to genealogy and has been prepared with great care under supervision of members of this outstanding Rhode Island family. The book is mimeographed and a full index is provided. It is to be hoped that other families will be treated in the same fashion.

**GLOUCESTER AND CAPE ANN.** A Camera Impression. By Samuel Chamberlain. 1938. 74 pp., square octavo, boards, illus. New York: Hastings House. Price, \$1.25.

Why is Cape Ann the perennial favorite of painters and art students? The answer is to be found in Mr. Chamberlain's new volume in his "American Landmarks" series, which are becoming so popular for gift books. The pageant of Gloucester's fishing fleet, the picturesqueness of Rockport and the quiet of the country-side are all shown in the beautiful and artistic scenes with which the book abounds. This little volume must be seen to be appreciated. It is far and away the best book on scenic Gloucester ever published.

## CORRECTION

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In the memoir of William Crowninshield Endicott which appeared in the July number of the Essex Institute Historical Collections, Mr. Endicott's birthplace was given erroneously as the Cabot house, 365 Essex Street, Salem. It should have read, 33 Warren Street, which was the residence of his parents in 1860 and 1861, before they purchased the Cabot house.



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